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MR. BOUTWELL ON RECONSTRUCTION.

Hon. George S. Boutwell gave an eloquent lecture in the Old Bay State Course, in Tremont Temple, Boston, last week, from which we make the following extract. The lecture is reported at length in the Boston *Journal*:

Another plan of restoring the Union is to admit these ten States, respectively, whenever they shall ratify the pending Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the character of which I need not detail to you. I may say that, on the very day, I think, that the House of Representatives voted to admit Tennessee to her place as a State in the Union, by a large majority, a bill was laid on the table which declared that whenever any one of the States recently in rebellion should ratify the Constitutional Amendment, it should be admitted to representation in the government of the country; thus denying in the very beginning the doctrine that when any one of those States ratified the Constitutional Amendment, they were to be admitted to their places in the government of the country. The Constitutional Amendment, as far as understood by the radical men in the Congress of the United States, meant just this, and nothing more: that it was a condition precedent to the recognition of the rights of those States to be represented in the government of the country, a condition which we should not dispense with and a condition which we were not bound to regard as the sole condition, and it was so declared distinctly by many members of the House of Congress at that time. Finally, I am bound to declare that it would be in the highest degree unwise and unsafe for the people of this country to accept those States when the Constitutional Amendment shall be ratified by the country or by them respectively; and the reasons are apparent. Like the President's policy, they turn over these ten States to the control of rebels. The Amendment itself, only by indirection, obtains security for the recognition of the rights of the negroes. It will be practicable for the white people of these ten States to exclude the negroes from all voice in the government of them. They will lose eighteen of their present representatives; but still, I have no doubt, that on the whole, the mass of the rebel leaders in the South will prefer to lose them, to the right of suffrage. They will still have their two Senators, and seventy-five members in the House of Representatives; they will still be a compact and powerful organization for the purpose of overthrowing the business of this country. As a matter of policy, setting aside the question of right, it will be unfortunate for the people of this country to admit any system of restoration which allows these fifteen States, fourteen certainly, to be a unit in opinion with reference to the affairs of this country. As a matter of policy we must divide the public sentiment of these States; divide their political governments, placing some of them on the side of the Union; securing a representation by loyal men, even though those loyal representatives be few. (Applause.) It is the most dangerous of all propositions that these old slave States should hereafter be represented in the government of this country; a unit upon the question which is vital to us—whether this government shall exist. Therefore, for one I look for just such a policy in this work of restoration as will secure to the government of the United States a Christian and loyal support. If we cannot have the entire forces of the old fifteen slave States, let us at least take a portion. If South Carolina has a majority of black people, I prefer that she should have loyal black rather than disloyal white representatives. (Applause.) And therefore I say secondly, that the Constitutional Amendment, right in itself and necessary as a condition precedent to the restoration of the Union, is wholly insufficient as a final and complete measure of restoration, and it is better for the country to reject it altogether and fight out the battle upon the plain issue of human rights, equal and exact justice to all men, than to accept this as a complete and final measure of restoration. (Applause.)

Now there is a third proposition that the Union shall be restored, the Constitutional Amendment being adopted, whenever these States shall adopt a system of impartial, restricted suffrage, whenever they shall be ready to say that any man who can read the Constitution of the United States, or write his own name, or who owns property to the value of $200, can have the right of franchise. And the same law will apply to the black man and the white man alike. I regard this plan of restoration as delusive and dangerous in the highest degree. In Massachusetts, where there is a system of public instruction, where there are public schools that furnish as good an education as was afforded by Harvard College eighty years ago, we might, with some degree of propriety, say that no man shall be entitled to vote unless he can read or write—because we place before him the means of knowledge; but are you going to say this to the three millions of people who are in those ten States, who have been denied every opportunity and every means of acquiring education—men, women and children who are ignorant because it has been and is to-day, as far as the penalty of the law is concerned, a crime to teach them? When you erect schools, run by charity, the enemies of freedom give them to the flames, and the Southern horizon is lighted up by the fires of the burning houses that the charity of the North has erected for the education of freemen; when you have said that no person can vote in those ten States except on those conditions, you have offered an additional inducement to the educated classes to prevent the education of the freedmen. If you consent to the reconstruction of this government upon the basis that those only shall vote in those ten States who can read and write, you have excluded the whole negro population of the South from the ballot-box, and you have placed, perhaps for a century, power in the hands of the rebel, slaveholding classes of that region of the country. I think this one objection alone is sufficient to resist this proposition for impartial, restricted suffrage.

I come, then, to what I believe offers the only safe way out of our present difficulties; and it is the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, which recognizes all persons born in the country as citizens of the country; but after all it is insufficient and untrustworthy unless you add them to universal suffrage in those ten States. (Applause.) I do not mean to say that I suppose that the extension of the elective franchise to the negro population of the South will at once remove all our difficulties. I do not expect that there will be then everywhere peace. I suppose there will be resistance on the part of the whites, and there very likely will be blood shed in some places, and lives may be lost; but after a little excitement and some resistance, after a few struggles, the people of the South will come to the conclusion that they had better submit to it. Out of these four million white people of the South we may expect that every four hundred thousand to the million will ally themselves with the government. They will be willing to unite with the negro population of the South for the restoration of the State governments upon a loyal basis. And when we have secured this, we may then consider that other question, which some persons desire to have considered before all other things in the matter of restoration: the question of amnesty to the rebels, either partial or universal. I agree that not much time can pass after the restoration of these States to the Union, before these men who have participated in the rebellion will be restored to their political rights; that, I expect, and upon the whole I desire it; but what I seek to guard against most, is the restoration of these States that have been disloyal to the Union, upon dangerous conditions. What is the condition of the South to-day? What are we to expect if the government shall be restored upon a just basis? It is humiliating to admit, but it is nevertheless true, that the South as a whole is in a more unpromising condition to-day than it was a year and a half since. It is not too much to say that throughout these ten States, from North Carolina to Texas, there is one grand carnival of all the spirits of disquiet, disorder and bloodshed, and I cannot refrain from the remark that this condition of things is due in a large measure to the course which Mr. Johnson has chosen to pursue. (Applause.) If he had refrained from issuing a proclamation of peace; if he had been disposed to wield the great powers of the government in the interest of loyalty and of the Union, it would have been in his power to have maintained order and peace throughout the whole region of country. But what is their condition to-day? The Civil Rights bill passed by Congress by a constitutional majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the President, is a dead letter. The Freedmen's Bureau bill is also disregarded. Weekly I receive letters from officers of the army, stationed throughout the South with small squads of men, which state that they are powerless to serve the country and protect the loyal blacks or whites in that region. They are insulted by the rebels. The army of the Republic, through themselves or representatives, is constantly insulted, their power disregarded and the authority of the government everywhere contemned. We know, too, for the testimony is conclusive, that colored men, freemen, are murdered constantly, not a single case, here and there, but by tens and hundreds, and from Texas it is reported that even more than a thousand have been thus murdered. Throughout the whole South the black people are insecure in their lives, in their persons and in their rights, and no where in that vast region of country is there any power to protect them. I know not in the history of nations a more melancholy example than that which this government exhibits to-day in the condition of the Southern country. I say further, after a most careful reflection, that I see no possible way out of these difficulties while the present Chief Magistrate is at the head of the government. (Applause.) Congress is strong. It has received the support of the people. It has now a two-thirds majority in the House, to be increased in the 40th Congress, and it can pass whatever it prefers, notwithstanding the President's veto. (Applause.) But after all it is powerless to execute. It has no hand by which it can wield or control the vast powers of this government. Therefore I say that during these two years, from the fourth of next March, if Mr. Johnson continues to be President of the United States during that period, I do not know how long the restoration of this government will be delayed. Disorder will still be the rule in the South. To-day we know very well that citizens of the North, who went South during the last twelve or eighteen months to develop the resources and apply their skill and originality to that country, are preparing to abandon it and go away, and there is little probability that the next year will yield the amount of cotton which this year has. I make no prediction as to what the future has in store for us with reference to the President in office; but I only say that if he continues in office during these two years to come, I know of no means by which human life can be protected, by which human rights shall be regarded as sacred, or by which any efficient means can be taken for the restoration of these ten States to their ancient place in the government of the country. We have, then, before us for these two years, for the South, ignorance, poverty and misrule.

I say the continuance of the existing state of things at the South, or the restoration of the Union according to the President's way, or upon the mere ratification of the Amendments to the Constitution, or upon the system of impartial but restricted suffrage, means repudiation of the State debts. Does anybody suppose Virginia can pay a debt of $43,000,000 unless she is regenerated, unless her people are able so to improve their powers of production as to augment the resources of that country as they have never been augmented in times past? New England must be carried to Virginia and North Carolina; Ohio must be carried to Georgia and Alabama; New York must be carried to South Carolina, before the natural advantages of that country will be so developed as to enable the people to pay the debts they owe. And again, the restoration of this government, with the South a unit against the Union, means repudiation of the debt of the United States. I do not stop to dwell upon that. Again, unless the South can be restored upon a basis such as I have indicated, there can be no resumption of specie payments for a long period of time. One difficulty just now in reference to the resumption of specie payments is this: That three, four or five hundred millions of our public securities are owned abroad. Whenever there is a panic on the other side of the Atlantic, as there was upon the opening of the continental war, and there is a demand for gold, these securities will be worth more in our markets than they are in foreign markets, and they will be sent here in quantities of twenty-five, fifty or a hundred millions of dollars, according to the necessities or fears of the people on the other side, which would be drawn from our banks, if they were paying specie, and they would be compelled to suspend. Therefore, one of the difficulties which we have to encounter, and which we must look in the face while we have so large a public debt, a portion of which is owned abroad, is that whenever there is a panic in Europe, there will be a demand upon the banks and upon the people of this country for specie. One of the benefits to be derived from the restoration of order in the South is, that you apply the labor of that section of country to the production of those articles which are a substitute for specie. We produce in the West grain in vast quantities, but the condition of transportation between the West and the Atlantic coast is such that we cannot expect to export quantities of grain sufficient to meet an exigency such as I have indicated; but if we can apply the labor of the South in the most productive way, we can augment the quantity of cotton produced from two to four, six, eight or ten millions of bales, and supply Europe, supply, indeed, the whole world, with the kind of cotton which this country produces. Cotton is perhaps the nearest to specie of any product of the soil. When the Southern country is cut up into small holdings, when the negro population shall be stimulated to produce cotton by the incentive which stimulates us all, pecuniary advantages to themselves, I doubt not we shall begin to realize what has been set forth by our friend, Prof. Atkinson, that the South is capable of producing many million bales of cotton in excess of any previous production. The cotton will be a substitute for specie, and in the nature of the case is the chief means upon which we can rely to meet the balances abroad, and until the South can be regenerated, until the labor of that section of country can be wisely and profitably applied to the production of cotton, it is a very grave question whether, in view of the large amount of our public debt owned abroad, the banks of this country can resume specie payments.

In the next place, until there is a restoration of the Union upon sound principles, there must be a degree of weakness in this government which cannot by any means be overcome. If we have ten, twelve or fourteen States known to be hostile to this government, what is our condition for protecting our rights? I am not alarmed in regard to any attempt on the part of other governments to interfere with the rights of the people of this country; but it is a humiliation to every American citizen that the country is in such a condition that we cannot assert our rights under any circumstances, and against all odds. Mr. Johnson, as you have seen, has just sent two ambassadors to Mexico. Thinking, I suppose, that he has restored this government to peace, order and quiet, he thinks the time has come when he can interfere in Mexico, and undertake to reconcile Maximilian, Juarez, and all the rest who are contending for supremacy in that distracted country. So far as Mr. Johnson is concerned, I think he had better not interfere in the affairs of other governments until he has better evidence of his success in managing the affairs of his own country (applause); but I may be justified in an observation here to this effect, that while the people of this country will not hesitate to declare their rights in reference to the claims upon England for the depredations by the "Alabama" and other piratical corsairs upon our commerce, while we shall not hesitate to maintain the ancient traditional doctrine of this country, that it is an offence for any foreign nation to attempt by force or by external pressure to establish a monarchy upon this continent, and while we shall not hesitate to declare our opinions upon every question concerning the rights of the people, I take it for granted that neither the Congress of the United States nor the people of this country will entrust either Mr. Johnson or Mr. Seward with any power whatever to interfere in the affairs of Mexico, to press our claims for compensation upon Great Britain, or to offer any offense to the Emperor of the French, knowing perfectly well that we can delay all these questions until after the 4th of March, 1869; and then if we choose to interfere in the affairs of Mexico we may do it with the certainty that we shall have the power to execute what we undertake; if we choose to demand compensation from Great Britain we can do it with every reason to believe that she will concede whatever we shall consider right and just; and knowing that the French Emperor will withdraw his troops from Mexico long before the 4th of March, 1869; that it is not for us now to assert offensively any right we may have, however just it may be, knowing that in our strength we can afford to rest, confident that the time is not far distant when there will be an Executive Department of the government representing the judgment and opinion and purpose of the people of this country, and an Executive Department disposed to execute this purpose, under the Constitution and according to the laws of the land. (Applause.) The South itself will come soon to the opinion that those who demand universal suffrage and the restoration of the government upon sound principles are, after all, its best friends. The South will soon discover that Mr. Johnson himself, whether intentionally or not, is in reality their worst enemy. No man has done more to injure the cause of the South than he. Of all things, the necessity of the Southern people when the rebellion was overthrown was this: that the man in the Presidential chair should enjoy the confidence of the loyal people of the country. Enjoying the confidence of the loyal people of the country, he could do those things in behalf of the South which were necessary for their prosperity and security; but such is the popular impression now in regard to Mr. Johnson, throughout the whole North, that he is utterly incapable of taking any step for the support of what are the just rights of the people of the South. Mr. Lincoln's death was as great a calamity to the South as to the North. They needed a man like Mr. Lincoln in the Presidential chair, whose kind heart, guided by the principles of the government, true always to justice, to the Union and to the Constitution, would yet have melted in the presence of their distresses, and furnished from time to time that influence and support which in their depressed and prostrate condition they so much needed. But by his death they were deprived of the benign influence of his administration, and the policy of his successor led them to expect a restoration of the ancient order of things, when they controlled the policy of the United States. In that expectation they are to be disappointed; but it has had this effect, that they have undertaken to assume authority and to exercise power in their respective localities as though the ancient order of things had been already restored, and now the work of restoration upon sound principles is made more and more difficult. But from what I know of the purpose and opinion of Congress, I do not hesitate to say, that the great majority of the loyal members of the two Houses are in favor of declaring by solemn resolution or public act, that the governments set up in these ten States are illegal and invalid, and shall exercise authority no longer; and by legislative authority establish governments in those districts,—call them territorial governments, or what you will; and in the act establishing those governments decide that all loyal male citizens shall be entitled to the right of suffrage. (Applause.)

I believe the time has come now when we shall cut clear of all theories and of all speculations concerning the rights of this section of the country, growing out of their ancient relation as States to the government of the United States, and establish governments upon the fundamental principles of republican government, beginning at the foundation, recognizing the rights of men because they are men, and building up governments republican in form: and whether the time necessary for the consummation of this plan be one year, or five years, or ten years, we shall appeal to the people to maintain that policy unto the end. (Loud applause.)

LETTER FROM COUNT DE GASPARIN

ON UNIVERSAL AMNESTY AND IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor of the Tribune:

Sir: Permit me to talk a little with you.

You know that I have never been a warm partisan of the Constitutional Amendment which was drawn up in the last session of Congress. It has always appeared to me that, for the first time to sanction by an article of the Constitution a distinction founded on color, is to give a strange conclusion to the victory of the North. I doubt, moreover, whether the South, supposing that it should adopt the Amendment, would be tempted to intrust the negro with the right of suffrage by the increased representation which it would thus gain in Congress. Having, whatever might happen, two Senators for each State, and knowing, on the other hand, that the negro vote would be cast for the Lincolnian candidates, it would have no motive to triumph over, what is most of all difficult for it to overcome, the prejudices of race and the traditions of slavery. The net result of the Amendment would be, therefore, to proclaim conditionally a new right, by virtue of which a race could be excluded from political life and a class of incomplete citizens created.

It is true that, thanks to the Democratic party and to Mr. Johnson, you run no risk of seeing the Constitutional Amendment adopted by the South. As a compromise is in question, the North will take care not to insist on this amendment. Consequently, Congress is about to resume its full liberty of action, and I hope that it will have the wisdom to make a good use of it. The point now in question (and it is time), is to have a National party, with a plain and simple platform, which will become popular, and which will serve as the symbol of its whole policy. *Universal Suffrage—Universal Amnesty*—such must evidently soon be your watchword.

Universal Suffrage, that is to say, the suppression of all distinctions based on color, the completion of the great work of emancipation, and the inscription of eternal justice in the body of your Constitution. If the States see fit—and I can understand that this may be the case—to subject the exercise of the right of suffrage to certain conditions, these conditions should be imposed at once on the blacks and the whites.

Universal Amnesty, that is to say, the immediate admission to Congress of the States which shall have adopted the new amendment, and of all the States when this amendment, having become part of the Constitution, shall have established universal suffrage everywhere; the pardon of all the rebels, great and small; renunciation of all plans of conquering the South, of reducing the Southern States to the position of territories; of confiscation, and of punishment.

I dislike, I confess, everything that tends to perpetuate the consequences and remembrances of the civil war. It is important that peace should be peace, and that pardon should be pardon. If you only establish the equality of races, you need have no fear of the former rebels. To exclude them from public life would be to exclude the whole South. Instead of the policy of exclusion, adopt boldly the policy of admission. It is better to admit the blacks who love you, than to exclude the whites who hate you. Have faith in your Constitution, have faith in liberty, and above all, have faith in that God who has never ceased to bless you when you have walked in the path of justice.

How glorious will be that moment when you will no longer have either slaves, or helots, or semi-citizens, or proscripts, or persons excluded from any privileges whatever—that moment when your noble Constitution will have resumed its sway from one end of your country to the other, when the most gigantic rebellion of modern times having been conquered by force, will be conquered by kindnesss, equity, and generosity!

It is important that you should hasten to arrive at this conclusion. Exceptional systems have their dangers, and you will not have ended your task until there is neither an excluded State nor an excluded race within your borders.

Thus everything brings us back to our motto: Equality of citizens, equality of States; or, as I said a moment since, *Universal Suffrage, Universal Amnesty.*

Nothing is more natural than that you should complete this new Constitutional Amendment by incorporating therein the repudiation of the Southern debt, and the solemn guarantee of the Union debt; but, in my opinion, as to the essential points, everything is summed up in the four words which I have just written.

Distrust middle measures and compromises. I know of but one means to put an end to a question, namely, to settle it once and forever. I know of but one means to insure peace, namely, utterly to eradicate the cause of war. Universal Suffrage will settle the negro question; Universal Amnesty will put an end to the white question.

This done you will have accomplished the most astonishing political work ever undertaken by a people. Through a civil war combined with a social revolution, you will have maintained intact the treasure of your liberties. You will neither have dictatorship, nor centralization, nor great standing armies. You will doubtless need some troops, and, for a lapse of time which I hope may be very brief, but the necessity of which no one can question, you will be called upon to protect the action of your Freedmen's Bureau, and to settle the inevitable difficulties proceeding from a transitional epoch. This, however, will be merely a transitional epoch; and, through the very effect of general liberty, the precaution now necessary will speedily become useless.

You may raise the objection that I have not taken Mr. Johnson into account. I do not conceal from myself the fact that if the President continues to play the part of the partisan of the South in opposition to the North, he can raise up great obstacles in your way.

He can, in the first place, encourage the isolation of the South. The equality of races, that indispensable complement of emancipation, would have been accepted with little difficulty by the rebellious States on the morrow of their defeat, under Mr. Lincoln; real emancipation, with real reconciliation as its corollary, would have been speedily realized; the National party and its venerated chief would have proceeded hand-in-hand toward the same goal, and would have attained it. Since the South has felt that it had an ally in the White House, it has been less inclined to adopt your constitutional amendments. Nevertheless, the result of the late elections, and the certainty of being unable to defeat the Union party and to reinsure Democratic majorities will not be long, I trust, in overcoming this resistance. To be excluded indefinitely from Congress, or to be readmitted therein as soon as the negroes shall be put in full possession of the rights of citizens, in the presence of such an alternative, the wise men of the South, and there are such, will know which side to choose.

The second peril to which Mr. Johnson may subject you, and it is one against which it is impossible to be sufficiently on your guard, is the return of the old war policy of the Democratic party. To enter into a dispute with France or England, to support the Fenians, perhaps, or to embark the country in some quarrel that will distract the public attention and make it forget reconstruction for ambition, such is the course of conduct which naturally offers itself. In all times and in all countries war is the great destroyer of liberty. Give the South a great war, and you will restore to it, if not all its clauses, at least all its hopes of success. Who knows whether, at a given moment, it would not find an ally to aid it in recommencing civil war, withdrawing from the negroes a partial and still ill-defined liberty, and again bringing in question the existence of the United States.

You are the party of liberty—you should be the party of peace. With peace, you will finish the work of emancipation; you will re-establish constitutional order; you will prevent dictatorships; you will disband armies; you will pay the national debt, and you will pave the way, by the liberal reconstruction of the Union, for the accomplishment of its glorious destinies.

AGENOR DE GASPARIN.

New York Nov. 21, 1866.

REPLY TO COUNT GASPARIN.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

A letter in regard to our national affairs, from a genuine friend to this country, Count Agenor de Gasparin, was published in the *Tribune* of the 26th ult. This letter [printed in another column.—Ed.] calmly and candidly reviews our situation, and gives a brief statement of the conclusions at which its author has arrived. The criticisms of so intelligent and friendly an observer are, of course, worthy of our earnest attention.

Count Gasparin begins by objecting to the Constitutional Amendment as objectionable in principle, and also insufficient for its intended purpose. "To sanction by an article of the Constitution [he says] a distinction founded on color, is to give a strange conclusion to the victory of the North;" and he doubts whether the South would be tempted by an increase of representation to intrust the negro with the right of suffrage. He concludes, on this point, that "the net result of the Amendment would be to proclaim conditionally a new right, by virtue of which a race could be excluded from political life, and a class of incomplete citizens created." What we now need, he thinks, is to have a national party, with the platform—"*Universal Suffrage—Universal Amnesty.*"

By "*Universal Suffrage*" he means the suppression of all distinctions in regard to suffrage based on color. If restrictions shall be placed on the power of voting, he wishes them to act alike upon blacks and whites.

By "*Universal Amnesty*" he means the admission to Congress of each State as soon as it shall have adopted the new Amendment and Universal Suffrage as above defined; and the pardon of all the rebels, great and small, without confiscation or other punishment.

He wisely advises us to "distrust middle measures and compromises;" and he knows but of one way to insure peace, namely—"utterly to eradicate the cause of war." Our excellent friend does not see that the accomplishment of his measure of *Universal* Amnesty would itself be a compromise, and a fatal one, and that it would leave the great cause of the war not only in existence, but in active operation.

Very few foreigners have so clear a view of the difficulties of our situation as Count Gasparin; yet even his view is limited; and one of its limitations appears in the following passage: "If you only establish the equality of races, you need have no fear of the former rebels. To exclude them from public life would be to exclude the whole South."

For a better understanding of American affairs, our excellent friend needs to take note of these six things, namely:

1. Nobody here proposes or desires the disfranchisement of "the whole South"—the mass of the Southern white population; only of the *leaders* in rebellion; the holders of offices under the Confederate government, either in its civil, military or naval departments. These should, *at the very least*, be restricted from voting or holding office, for the reasons which follow:

2. Those whom Count Gasparin calls "the former rebels," are *still* rebels, in spirit, attitude and influence. Most of them hate the North, and love distinctively Southern ideas, as much as they ever did. It will be difficult to recover any appreciable portion of the adult Southern population to a feeling of loyalty to the United States government. All that we can hope from the mass of them, under the most favorable circumstances, is acquiescence in such measures of reform as shall be established by the authority now dominant. But even this can be gained only by preventing further leadership on the part of the men who led them into rebellion. To allow a continuance of these in power, station and political influence would be to forfeit the only chance of a quiet progression in the establishment of free institutions there. Because

3. The mass of the Southern white population are still so much deluded as to honor the men who led them into this wicked and fatal war, to cherish them as the true friends of the South; and still to desire their leadership in State and National politics. If they parade this preference now by marks so significant as the choice of Gen. Robert E. Lee as President of a College in Virginia, and by that of the pirate Semmes as *Professor of Moral Philosophy* in a College in Louisiana, of course they will, for the same reasons, choose these and persons like them to govern those States, and represent them in Congress, whenever the opportunity shall occur. Our only safety lies in not giving them the opportunity. The influence of these leaders of rebellion will always be hostile and injurious in their respective neighborhoods, as long as they live, even divested of office. We take the risk of that, though it is plain that our magnanimity in refraining from punishment and confiscation is not appreciated by our foreign friends; but to allow them again to sit in Congress—to become constituent parts of the government against which they fought so desperately—to be chosen governors and legislators in their respective States, and to exercise again the influence of political leaders—this would be suicidal on our part; this must not for a moment be conceded.

4. The hope cherished at the South that what President Johnson calls "My Policy" will restore and maintain some distinctive features of the Southern policy of former times has already borne abundant and pernicious fruit. There has appeared through all the Southern States an increasing expectation that the whites were still to hold the blacks in a subordinate position, and to retain them as a laboring class, at prices little more than nominal, for labor of every sort. In preparation for this desired end, the most shameful injustice has already been shown in withholding the fruits of their labor the past Autumn, whether promised in money or in kind—in the formation of combinations among employers to keep down the rate of wages, and to refuse work altogether to those negroes who should lay claim to a fair compensation—in obstructing the process of education among the freedmen, not only by threats and brutal assaults upon their teachers, but by burning their school-houses and churches—and in maintaining everywhere, by language and action, the old custom of rating negroes as "niggers." But besides these cowardly and clandestine methods of persecution—

5. Serious attempts have been made in various parts of the South, and are increasing, to revive the old slave customs in regard to a distinction between the punishments allotted to black and white for the same offence, and even, in spite of the Emancipation Act, to decree enslavement as the punishment for crime in blacks, under legal process, and by the decree of civil courts. This last act has just occurred in Maryland; and in North and South Carolina there has of late been a systematic process of punishing as many negroes as possible by public whipping, thus bringing the sufferers under the operation of a law which disqualifies persons thus punished from the exercise of certain of the ordinary rights of citizenship. And, let it be noted, this whipping is made the punishment of petty larceny, trespass, etc., the very class of offences into which the freedmen are *forced* by conspiracy among the whites to refuse a fair compensation for their labor. The devilish ingenuity which devises these arrangements is a continuance of that which slavery matured, and kept in constant exercise; and if the old leaders of slavery are still to be the leaders of the Southern people (as they certainly will unless the stringency of law shall prevent) this same infernal skill will be constantly exercised to evade, or ignore, or trample upon, such national laws as were intended for the protection of the freedmen. Think what the condition of the negro laborer will be when not only his employer, but the Justice of the Peace, and the Constable, and the Postmaster, and the Railroad officials, and the Minister of the parish, are all of the class of slaveholding rebels! But, unless the stringency of law shall prevent, this will certainly be the condition of things throughout the South; for

6. Hatred of Northern people, opposition to their residence in the South in any capacity, and measures of intrigue or violence tending to drive them away, are among the most constant facts experienced and reported by Northern visitors and residents there. Great numbers of such persons who have gone there to explore, with a view to settlement, have seen the uselessness of attempting to remain until our national policy is so ordered as to insure them protection; and great numbers of those who had commenced residence or business there, in the hope of better things, have found themselves obliged to break up and withdraw. Northern men cannot live in the South, while the local power and influence remain in the hands of those who detest them alike as loyalists and Abolitionists.

Lest these should be regarded as merely opinions of the writer, he will present, in support of them, the following—

Facts in regard to the condition of things at the South, which came, in the regular course of business, to one Boston newspaper, the *Transcript*, during one month, December, 1866.

December 3d—A resolution was unanimously adopted in both branches of the Legislature of Georgia, giving (Nov. 30) a "formal expression of their respect for the character and services of the illustrious Prisoner of State, Jefferson Davis."

In the Alabama House of Representatives (Dec. 1st) Mr. Brookes, of Lowndes county, presented a bill to alter the Constitution of that State so as to admit of conditional negro suffrage; that a voter shall possess property to the amount of $200, be able to read the Constitution of the State and of the United States, and write a legible hand—these conditions holding good also in the case of white men. After an exciting debate the bill was tabled.

In the Tennessee House of Representatives, a bill providing for the organization and maintenance of free common schools of the State was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 33 against 26.

5th—A special dispatch from St. Louis, dated yesterday, says Gov. Fletcher has declared martial law in Ray and Platte counties, of Missouri, and marched in 10,000 troops. The rebels had become so outrageous that no man's life was safe who was not known to be an out and out rebel.

6th—A writer in the Danville *Register* nominates Gen. Robert E. Lee for next Governor of Virginia.

The rebels in Albion and Henry counties, Tennessee, are infuriated at the idea that their former chattels may be enfranchised while they are excluded from the polls, and are driving off numbers of freedmen under threats of violence.

7th—Three Union soldiers, ordered to guard fifteen bales of cotton seized by the agents of the Treasury Department on the Savannah river, were murdered by the claimant of the cotton and a band of his friends, in October, 1865. The murderers, after having been condemned to death by a military tribunal, succeeded in getting what was equivalent in its effects to a pardon, by the payment of $50,000. The man who was the paid agent of the murderers, and who induced President Johnson to grant the order by which they were removed out of the jurisdiction of Gen. Sickles, and eventually released on a writ of *habeas corpus*, was O. H. Browning, the present Secretary of the Interior.

8th—Semmes has been made Professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres in a Louisiana College.

The House of Representatives of the Florida Legislature (Tallahassee, 6th) agreed by a unanimous vote to the report of a Committee recommending the rejection of the Constitutional Amendment.

At Lexington, Virginia, a few days ago, one of Gen. Lee's pupils shot and killed a respectable black man of that town. On his examination he stated that the negro had "insulted him." This statement was corroborated by spectators of the occurrence. The Judge decided—That the laws of Virginia have always recognized the difference between the white man and the black; that a white man may protect himself from negro insults; and that, though the deed was clearly proven, it was the result of the insult, and he should discharge the defendant from custody.

12th—Raleigh (North Carolina) correspondence says that the Regulators in that State are at work, robbing Yankees and negroes. They have burned a gin-house belonging to a Northerner. Another Northerner was shot, and negroes are shot and hung nearly every day.

Richmond, Virginia, 12th—A careful count has been made of those known to favor and those known to oppose the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment. The result is that only four members of the Legislature can be relied on to give it their sanction.

Six ex-rebels were arrested at Griffin, Georgia, Dec. 8th, by the U. S. Deputy Marshal, for violation of the Civil Rights bill. They ordered a Union man to leave town under twenty-four hours, under penalty of hanging.

13th—A St. Louis dispatch says there was great occasion for Gov. Fletcher's proclamation calling for troops to arrest bushwhackers and robbers. Matters were carried to such a pitch in certain localities that Union men were actually fleeing for their lives.

Memorials from loyalists in the late insurrectionary States will shortly be presented to Congress, asking for the overthrow of the existing State governments, and the establishment of Territorial governments based upon negro suffrage and the perpetual exclusion from the franchise of all who have borne arms against the Union.

15th—The operation of the so-called vagrant laws of the unreconstructed States is very well illustrated by a recent case in Georgia. Rev. Wilbur Fincher, *a colored man of character and respectability*, was employed by the Georgia Equal Rights Association as a missionary and teacher. The Association paid him from its funds, supplied mainly by benevolent societies in the North, a stated salary of $35 a month. He was actively engaged in the discharge of his duties, and was in "independent circumstances." This industrious and useful member of society was arrested as a vagrant, and sentenced to the chain-gang for twelve months. The case was appealed, *and the judgment reaffirmed.* Mr. Fincher is now undergoing his sentence. This story comes from the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette.*

Mr. Thomas J. Durant of Louisiana, a resident of New Orleans for thirty years, testified before the Congressional Committee that the entire control of New Orleans during the July riot, as well as now, has been in the hands of the rebels; that the indispensable qualification of holding office there is not only former treason, but the full term of service in the rebel army during the war; that the existence of the military force of the United States is still indispensable there to the safety of the Union men.

Washington, 14th—Mr. Shellabarger to-day presented a memorial from persons representing themselves to be loyal citizens of Louisiana, and representing the sentiment of the loyal people of the State, asking Congress to immediately take such action as will supersede the present political organization in Louisiana by such as will be loyal to the General government, and secure to the loyal people of Louisiana protection in their lives, liberty and property.

They say the present organizations are not republican, because a majority of the citizens are disfranchised, and because they do not give adequate and equal protection to all of them; and that they are not loyal, because they are controlled by those who were employed in the rebellion.

It has been presented to nearly all the more influential loyal citizens, and about one-third of them have signed it—*the others being deterred from doing so by regard to personal safety.*

Among the signatures are those of Gov. Wells, Chief Justice Hyman and George W. Kendall.

18th—The South Carolina Legislature has passed resolutions expressive of its sympathy with Jefferson Davis in his confinement.

In the Congressional proceedings of Monday, Dec. 17th in the House—

Mr. Stevens said (referring to the sale of a colored man at Annapolis) that the Amendment abolishing slavery made an exception of those convicted for crime. Maryland was not the only State where occasion was taken to sell colored people into slavery. Not many weeks ago two very respectable persons, a gentleman and his wife, had called upon him, and told him that they had just come from Florida, where it became too warm for them. The day before they left they saw some negroes sold into slavery by public auction, some of them for seven years, and that they saw several others whipped with stripes on their naked backs at a whipping post, under the discriminating laws of Florida.

Mr. Schenck enlarged upon this theme, and narrated an instance of oppression in Georgia, where a colored agent of a Philadelphia benevolent society was arrested on the charge of vagrancy, and condemned to the chain-gang for the term of twelve months.

Mr. Lawrence of Ohio moved to amend the resolution so as to direct the Committee to report what legislation is necessary to protect loyal citizens in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property in the lately rebellious States, excepting Tennessee. He sent up an extra from a loyal Georgian newspaper of the 8th of December, showing that at the late Equal Rights Convention held in Macon, delegates representing fifty counties reported one hundred and fifty murders within the last ten

months, and in no instance did the civil authority attempt to bring the murderers to justice.

19th—Extracts from Southern papers.

The Petersburg *Express* declares "The President will have no alternative left him but to disperse the two Houses at the point of the bayonet."

The Richmond *Enquirer* asserts, "The President is bound by his oath to maintain the State governments," and then gives Congressmen to understand that he will be backed up by the Northern and Southern Democracy in making war upon them and their supporters if they attempt to put the Territorial theory in operation.

The Charleston *Mercury* informs the Executive that the late Southern soldiers are at his disposal if he requires their aid in overpowering "the Northern disunionista."

The Mobile *Times* affirms—"The South will resist with force any change in its present political status."

The Pine Bluff (Ark.) *Vindicator* is desirous of "fighting for our rights again," and says, "Let us have no more servility by the press and public men of the country. Let us hear no voice counselling submission, but all proclaim our rights or war."

These are merely sample paragraphs from the common talk of a certain class of journals.

21st—The South Carolina House has rejected the Constitutional Amendment by a vote of 95 against 1.

22d—The number of freedmen killed in Texas during the past year is estimated by Mr. Roberts, Senator elect from that State, to be 2,700.

The Freedmens' Bureau has received a communication from Prince Frederick county, Maryland, stating that a colored man named John Lox had been indicted by the Grand Jury for that county for harboring his children, who had been bound out, but were released to him by Judge Bond of Baltimore. It appears that Dr. James Duke, the owner of Lox's wife, had the children taken away by *h beas corpus*, and then went before the Grand Jury, and had Lox indicted for enticing his children from their master. Several similar cases are reported.

26th—Col. Forney thus describes the condition of affairs in the rebellious sections of the Union:

All over the South, the State Judges, as if secretly encouraged by the hope that they would be sustained at Washington not only by the Executive, but by the Judiciary, are making decisions and perpetrating atrocities that would disgrace the very worst days of slavery. Even as I write, we have intelligence of the decision of a North Carolina Judge, commanding the whipping of negroes, in defiance of the Civil Rights bill, under the old slave code, and coolly directing indictments to be issued against the Union officers for refusing to enforce this infamous decree. The Louisiana State Judges openly defy the Civil Rights bill.

The Governor of Mississippi, under the sanction of the President, has taken the same course. Judge Magruder of Anne Arundel county, Maryland, orders the sale of a colored man into slavery under the old Maryland code, and decrees such punishment for offences committed by negroes, which, perpetrated by whites, would have been followed by sentence to the penitentiary. The President has revoked the order of Gen. Sickles in South Carolina, which forbade the use of the whipping-post. One of the Virginia judges at a late court held at Alexandria in that State, openly defied the test oath, and admitted returned rebels to practice before him and to sit on juries.

There is not to-day a State Judge in Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, or any other Southern State, not excluding Kentucky, that does not rule in the spirit of slavery before slavery took arms against the government. The effect of these continuous outrages upon liberty and law is far more injurious even than the inhumanity of the ignorant misguided populace.

27th—*Whipping of blacks in North Carolina.*—Gentlemen direct from military headquarters at Charleston and Raleigh throw much additional and startling light upon the negro-whipping question. It appears that in all country towns the whipping of negroes is being carried on extensively. The real motive at the bottom of it is to guard against their voting in the future, there being a law in North Carolina depriving those publicly whipped of the right to vote. The practice was carried on upon such a scale in Raleigh, that crowds gathered every day to see the negroes whipped. Besides, the sale of freedmen for slight offences is going forward rapidly in all parts of the State, and some of the planters in the Eastern portion are boasting that the old order of things is practically restored for them, as they now own their gang, and have them in good subjection. Mr. Johnson's setting aside of Gen. Sickles's order preventing whipping and sale is thus regarded as utterly barbarous, as virtually returning the blacks to slavery.

29th—The Memphis *Avalanche* continues its proscription of Union men in that city, and publishes a black list of business men who were opposed to the rebellion. In a recent editorial it says—"From this time henceforward and forever let every true Southern man who was an ex-rebel, or whose son, brother, father or kin was one—let him avoid the business houses of Wolcott, Smith & Co., and of W. R. Moore."

The items of news on these subjects above rehearsed as having appeared during a single month in a single paper, differ in no manner or degree from the current of intelligence coming from all parts of the South for the six months preceding the period here reviewed, and continued to the moment of my present writing. This morning, January 4th, 1867, comes the news that Messrs. Saulsbury and Johnson, in the United States Senate, vindicated the right of the Southern States to sell negroes into slavery as a punishment for crime; and that the message of Gov. Saulsbury of Delaware, sent yesterday to the Legislature, not only strongly opposed the Constitutional Amendment as granting *too much* to the blacks, but questioned the constitutionality of the Civil Rights bill, and declared selling into slavery decidedly preferable to other methods of punishing crime in negroes.

The extracts which I have given are designed to show what the rebel party wish everywhere, and what they accomplish in the places where their power equals their will. From many places where they are in the minority much more favorable accounts have come, and vast progress has been made in many respects where the military power yet remains, and also where the Northern element is in greater proportionate force than the rebel party. In the favorable facts of course I heartily rejoice, as do all Abolitionists. But it seems to me that the number and weight of the adverse facts should teach us the imperative necessity of guarding our future against the *leaders* of the rebellion, the representative men of the old arrogant, malignant, slaveholding South.

To restore a pistol to the highwayman from whom one has snatched it, while there is abundant evidence that he still cherishes his evil purpose, would be an act of folly. To allow convicted criminals not only to go free, but to resume the exercise of that commanding influence among a like-minded population, and that skill in leadership, which have already cost us a four years war, would be, it seems to me, a similar act of folly. If, in this transition period, we give the rebels back their old chiefs while they have allies so powerful in the Executive chair and on the Bench of the Supreme Court, we shall richly deserve the misfortunes which they will be sure to bring upon us; but there will be a fearful account to settle both with God and man for our wilful waste of a great opportunity, our treachery to the black men who helped us through the war, and our abandonment of justice and freedom at the critical point when we might triumphantly have enacted them into law. Let amnesty be given liberally to the followers of the rebellion; but in no case to its leaders.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1867.

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We are not at liberty to give the name of the donor, but he adds: "You may say it comes from one who would not miss the STANDARD for all the other papers he knows."

The Bonds (two Fifties) are in our possession, and we shall pay them to the one from whom, on the first of July, we shall have received the largest number of new subscribers. Some one will be sure of receiving them. Of course ten subscribers can be readily procured by almost any one, and a much larger number, without great difficulty. With the important accession of WENDELL PHILLIPS as a special editorial contributor, the services of other able contributors, and a regular correspondence from Washington, Boston and Philadelphia superior to that of any weekly journal in the country, the claims of THE STANDARD are such as our friend ascribes to it and encourages by his liberal donation.

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A. M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will hold its annual meeting at the Mercantile Hall, Summer street, Boston, on FRIDAY, JANUARY 25th. The emergency of the Nation's and the Negro's cause will, of course, call a large audience together. Names of speakers will be announced next week.

J. T. SARGENT, President.

IMPEACHMENT.

THE initial step for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson has been taken. We chronicle this fact with much satisfaction. Too long has it been delayed. Of late it has looked as though our Representatives at Washington intended to disregard the numerous petitions of loyal men from all parts of the country, shut their eyes, against their own convictions, to the peril and the disgrace of having a traitor and a ruffian in the Executive chair, and, for fear of damaging party interests, to ignore the paramount duty of impeachment. We are glad to believe that wiser counsels are destined to prevail and that the step already taken will be duly followed by the President's impeachment, prompt suspension from office, ultimate conviction and deposition. His deposition has become an absolute necessity. Without it right reconstruction is an impossibility. The conspiracy disclosed by the highest judicial tribunal of the country against the liberty and life of the nation, makes apparent to multitudes, what we have all along declared, that without the impeachment of the President the Republican Congress, though having an overwhelming majority, will be checkmated and baffled in all its most important legislation.

Of course impeachment is a measure which should be resorted to only in a case of extreme necessity. The present is such a case. Made President by rebel design, assuming the office just as the military power of the "Confederacy" completely collapsed, deceiving the North by empty, loud-sounding professions of loyalty, Andrew Johnson has more infamously and criminally injured the nation than did Jefferson Davis, who openly left his place in the Senate, and, without disguise, commenced offensive warfare upon the government. By virtue of his position he has been enabled so to revive and strengthen the spirit of the rebellion that to-day a renewed outbreak of war seems far more probable, at no distant period, than did the commencement of general hostilities immediately preceding the firing upon Fort Sumter. With his license the blacks of the South, and the loyal whites, are being murdered by hundreds and by thousands. Many more are forced to fly from their homes to save their lives. United States officers have, in frequent instances, and with impunity, been put to death. The reign of terror is again being inaugurated throughout the South. Slavery, with all its most horrible auxiliaries, is in form and fact re-established. With professions of great respect for the will of the people Andrew Johnson, through an alliance with a corrupt judiciary, seeks the subjugation of the loyal masses and the triumph of the dominant rebel spirit. Nothing short of impeachment will frustrate the consummation of his designs, or save us from another general conflict of arms. No careful observer can fail to see that there has been no more critical juncture in our affairs since the outbreak of the rebellion. While Andrew Johnson is not alone responsible for this untoward state of things, he is the instrument, the accepted tool, the figure head of conspiring traitors, and as such should be, and from present indications we are led confidently to hope, will be, at an early day, removed from office. Such is the exigency of our situation that while this is left undone nothing else of abiding value to the nation can be done.

Messrs. Ashley, Boutwell, Stevens and others, who are relied upon to carry forward the work of impeachment successfully inaugurated on Monday, may count confidently upon the hearty support of the loyal masses of the country, despite the adverse opinions of our New York daily press. The earnest advocacy of the measure by the *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Herald* is only a question of time. We do not, nor will the common sense of the country attach the slightest weight to their objections, on the score of injury to business and the finances, the danger of forcible resistance by Johnson, or the impolicy of impeachment from party considerations. From nothing could the business and the finances of the country suffer so much as the continued misrule, and increasing insecurity throughout the South, with the ominous future foreshadowed by the recent decision of the Supreme Court. If Johnson, as threatened by the *World* and hinted by the *Tribune*, cannot be peaceably removed from an office which he has betrayed and dishonored, the functions of which he ought not longer to be allowed to usurp and abuse, the sooner we find out the fact, the better it will be for the nation. As to party considerations, we can safely assure the timid counsellors of the *Tribune*, and the halting, hesitating and weak-kneed among Republicans generally, that Radicalism is destined to win, that the Ashleys, the Boutwells, the Butlers, the Kelleys, the men who best meet the demand of the nation in its extremity, will be the men of the future sustained and honored by the people. Messrs. Greeley and Raymond need fear injury to the Republican party from no cause so much as from such shameful, humiliating, unnecessary surrender, as each has made in the year just closed. Each would have seriously damaged the party, but both will be left behind, to join Thurlow Weed, within the fold of Tammany, unless they fall into line and support heartily impeachment and all other measures demanded by justice and freedom.

THE PHILADELPHIA FESTIVAL.

NEXT week will be a very interesting season in the city of Philadelphia. The Festival of the Friends of Freedom, announced in our columns for two weeks past, will be held on Thursday, the 17th, and it offers sufficient attractions to insure the attendance of all the Abolitionists within easy reach of that city. Its chief attraction is the rare opportunity it will furnish of social reunion and intercourse among the "Old Guard" of Pennsylvania, who will there count "all their battles o'er again," revive all pleasant memories of their twenty-six Anti-Slavery Fairs, and, from the stand-point of the present, discuss the past and the future. We trust that the music with which the assembly is to be regaled will swell high with tones of triumph and of hope; for to such tones, we are sure, those hearts will respond as they contemplate all that has been won for freedom, in this Republic, during the last thirty years, and as they look forward to the completion of their work which the coming years promise.

The invitation to this Festival is not confined to those who, during our country's "martyr-age," were called Abolitionists; all whose hearts are swelling with the uprising of liberty in our land, by whatsoever name they may be called—Friends of the Freedman, Members of the Union League, Republicans—all are cordially invited to gather on this occasion, and share while they contribute to the social entertainment; and we trust that many such will eagerly respond to the summons. We understand that some distinguished public men are expected to be present, whom all will be glad to see and hear, besides some veterans in our cause whose hands it would be a pleasure to us to grasp. The occasion will be graced by the presence of the venerable James and Lucretia Mott, now in the eighth decade of mortal life, whose hands, in the vigor of their prime, helped to lay the corner-stone of our Anti-Slavery edifice, and who are now striving to adjust its topmost stone, ready to join in the shout of "Grace, grace unto it." The children, the young men and maidens, who will mingle in that happy assembly, may well account it a privilege to look into the faces and grasp the hands, to receive the benediction and treasure the memory of these pioneers in the sacred cause of Freedom, these faithful servants of the Lord. We cannot enumerate all the attractions of this Festival; but we are sure that all the friends of our cause who allow any slight obstacle to prevent their attendance will have reason to regret their loss.

HON. THADDEUS STEVENS, on Thursday of last week, made a powerful speech in support of his reconstruction bill. We hope to print a portion of it next week. Referring to the late decision of the Supreme Court, he said:

"That decision, though perhaps not so infamous as the Dred Scott decision, was far more dangerous in its operation on the lives and liberties of the loyal men of the country. It had taken away all protection from every loyal man, black or white, residing in any of the rebel States. It had unsheathed the dagger of the assassin and the knife of the rebel against the throat of every man who dared to proclaim himself now or hereafter a loyal Union man. If the doctrine of that decision were true, there never was a people in such terrible peril as the loyal people of the South, white and black. Unless Congress proceeded at once and did something to protect those people from the barbarians that are now murdering the whites, and putting into secret graves thousands of colored people, it would be liable to the just censure of the world for its neglect, its cowardice, or its want of ability."

Mr. Ashley offered a substitute for Mr. Stevens's bill, which has some points better than any bill yet introduced, but of which we are unable to give even a synopsis this week.

On our fourth page this week will be found an article which we copy from the *Independent*, from the pen of LYDIA MARIA CHILD, entitled "FRIEND JOSEPH," which will be of special interest to many of our readers, to whom Friend Joseph is well known. It is a well deserved tribute to our highly esteemed friend and coadjutor JOSEPH CARPENTER, of New Rochelle, N. Y. From its commencement under the leadership of Mr. Garrison to the present hour the Anti-Slavery cause has had no more steadfast and devoted friend. In past years in times of great need many of the proscribed race have found in him a friend indeed. One of the interesting incidents connected with his home, omitted by Mrs. Child, is the fact that upon his farm is a cemetery still used by the colored people of New Rochelle, donated to them by him for that purpose in the darker days of negro hatred and persecution, when by the so-called *Christian* white citizens the blacks were not even allowed a burial place for their dead in the vicinity of the village cemeteries. His face is always in itself a benediction in our anniversary meetings, and in past years of arduous Anti-Slavery labor in this State we have found in him a true friend, and an efficient, ready helper. Still faithfully upholding the standard of justice and universal freedom may he soon see those principles to which his life has been devoted, completely triumphant!

THE SUFFRAGE BILL for the District of Columbia, vetoed by the President, as was anticipated, has since been passed by the requisite two-third vote of the Senate and House of Representatives, and has therefore become a law. The veto was very lengthy, but remarkable only for its stupidity and absurd assumptions.

AN EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION is to be held in Philadelphia on Thursday, the 17th inst. during the day, for the purpose of discussing the expediency of forming a State Equal Rights Association. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and other well-known friends of the movement, will be in attendance. On the following day a meeting of the Pennsylvania Peace Society is to be held, and both these conventions will, undoubtedly, attract strangers to the city, who will gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to join in the Festival, to be held on Thursday evening.

A BILL introduced by Mr. Kasson, of Iowa, designed to enforce the Constitutional Amendment and to prevent the sale of "criminals" into slavery has passed the House of Representatives by a large majority. Like the Civil Rights bill, we presume, with the present Executive in office, it will, if it becomes a law, be powerless for the protection of the disfranchised class.

THE reply to GASPARIN'S letter by our friend CHARLES K. WHIPPLE affords ample and unanswerable evidence as to the present unfitness of the people of the rebel territories for any other than Federal territorial government.

We are obliged to omit for want of space much interesting and important matter prepared for this number. We are obliged to defer the favors of several contributors for the same reason. Some of these, not out of date from the delay, we shall present in a later issue.

PERSONAL.

W. S. Robinson, of Malden, the "Warrington" of the Springfield *Republican*, has just been re-elected clerk of the Massachusetts House by a vote that lacked one of being unanimous. He has held that position for a number of years.

Anna E. Dickinson, our readers will be gratified to learn, is so far recovered from her late severe illness as to be able to resume her public labors. She is expected to give her new lecture, "Something to Do," this (Wednesday) evening, in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia.

Rev. Dr. Cheever preached an able and timely discourse in the Church of the Puritans on Sunday evening last, upon "The Right of Colored American Citizens to Vote." He criticized with merited severity the Constitutional Amendment, and made an earnest plea in behalf of the colored race. The N. Y. *Herald* presents a pretty full report, which we hope to lay before our readers next week. The *Herald* says: "The sermon was listened to with great attention by a large congregation."

W. G. Snethen, Esq., of Baltimore, writes to the Boston *Commonwealth* of the 5th inst.:

"There is not a radical man in Maryland who is not in favor of the impeachment of the President by the present House of Representatives, and the sequestration of his office pending the trial. This is the only way of escape for the country out of its present and coming ills in the judgment of Maryland radicals. We believe that the whole Republican party of the republic, and a large portion even of the defunct Democratic party, would hail, with gratification, the removal of Andrew Johnson from the office which he has so shamefully degraded, as a vindication of American constitutional liberty imperiously called for at the hands of Congress, if the republic is to be saved in its integrity. Presidents and Judges are to be taught that they are not the makers, but the servants, of the people, and this is the very nick of time to teach them this useful lesson. Shall the thirty-ninth, or the fortieth Congress be the teachers?"

The Boston *Transcript's* Washington correspondent writes:

"One of the most striking features of the present season is the position taken by Mr. and Mrs. Senator Sumner, as leaders of the most intellectual and distingué society. Though their house was only thrown open recently to their friends, it has already become a centre of the best society, in the highest sense. The gentlemen and ladies who frequent Mrs. Sumner's *salons* are men of ideas and women of the highest culture, and all imbued with great national sentiments. Mrs. Sumner is remarkable for her genius as a leader of this kind of society, and Mr. Sumner is evidently anxious to bring remarkable political or otherwise conspicuous characters *en rapport* with the diplomats, so as to make foreign governments understand in whose hands the strength of the country lies. Thus he invited Sir Frederick Bruce and Baron Gerolt to meet Thad. Stevens, and M. Berthémy, the new French Minister, to meet Mr. Morrill and Mr. Stanton. Such gatherings cannot fail to exert a potential influence, and to give a new impetus to Washington society."

The Boston *Commonwealth* of the 5th inst. says: "Tremont Temple was filled to overflowing on Sunday evening, to listen to Wendell Phillips upon Temperance. Mr. Phillips took strong grounds against the Governor, the Secretary of State, and other officials, for not making proper efforts to enforce the statute against the sale of intoxicating drinks. He strongly denounced the officials of Boston and other cities, saying that they held office through the votes of the rumsellers, and that they were pledged not to execute the law. He gave the State Constabulary great credit for the work they had performed in checking the traffic, and advised the strengthening of that force. For twenty years, said Mr. Phillips, no Mayor has been elected in Boston unless his friends could promise that he would not see a grog-shop. Paris, aristocratic, licentious Paris, is better governed, and her city authorities have better control over the vices of the city, the grog-shops, the gaming-houses and the brothels, than any American city. Mr. Phillips was frequently applauded for the hard cuts he gave the city and State officials."

Rev. William Patton, D.D., of New Haven preached an eloquent sermon, on Sunday evening last, in the Forty-second street Presbyterian Church (Rev. Mr. Hastings's) of this city, in vindication of Republican government as against monarchies and aristocracy, and as the basis of a true Christian civilization. In closing he said: "The rebellion was not a mere sectional strife but a deadly conflict between irreconcilable principles. It was the death-lock between despotism and freedom, and it was this that drew forth such lively sympathy for the rebels from the monarchical nations of Europe! They saw in the slaveholders rebellion a 'brother in distress' and they helped them in every way they dared. • • • Our dangers do not threaten us, at present, chiefly from without. Satan and his friends *at home* and abroad, with desperate determination, will plot against us and if possible undermine this republic, and change this government into a monarchy. If we are true to the right, and, with an unwavering and unflinching nerve, can carry out the equal and just principles of the Constitution we have nothing to fear, God will be with us and bring to grief and shame and merited condemnation all the plotting of wicked men against our free and independent Union! Any want of confidence in the great underlying principles of our Constitution; any want of disposition to carry out these principles to every individual; any want of patriotic devotion to our country as a free and independent republic is alike *treason* against God and mankind!"

Rev. Moncure D. Conway, in the *Commonwealth* of last week, says: "Ellen Craft, wife of William Craft, with whom she escaped from a plantation in Georgia—she habited as a Southern gentleman, he as her body servant—is, as you may judge by the manner of her escape, almost white. She is also quite good-looking, quite intelligent, and is welcomed in the best society of London. Lately she met at a dinner company, without knowing it, ex-Gov. Eyre, and, as fate would have it, fell to talking of the Jamaica affair with him. Ellen knows how to use her tongue with considerable effect, and the ex-Governor was somewhat amazed and embarrassed to hear himself terribly castigated by a lady of whose relation to the negro race he had no idea whatever. Whilst the conversation was going on, some one hinted to her that the person to whom she was uttering her indignation was no other than ex-Gov. Eyre himself; whereupon, frankly and unembarrassed, she turned upon him and said solemnly, 'Do not you yourself, sir, feel now that poor Gordon was most unjustly executed?' The ex-Governor upon this was overwhelmed with confusion, turned very red, excused himself, and walked to the other end of the room. Ellen is a kind of missionary among the grandees here. She was the other day at a fine dinner where Artemus Ward was a guest, and came out bluntly with—'They tell me, Mr. Browne, that you are always very hard upon the poor negro.' Artemus, who was entirely unaware of the race of the person with whom he was conversing, replied, 'Now, who told you that?' 'Well, a good many people; but, in fact, there is a good deal in your books that would never have been written by a friend of that unfortunate race.' Artemus colored considerably, for he felt that the company he was in felt a certain sympathy with her rebuke; and he said, 'Not at all; I abuse white people as much as I do the blacks.' 'Well,' rejoined Ellen, looking him straightly in the eye, 'I hope you will never again write anything which shall make people believe that you are against the negro.' Is it not passing strange that an intelligent and refined fugitive slave should be over here confronting and rebuking in high places the enemies of her people?"

PENNSYLVANIA FESTIVAL.

THIS Festival will open at five o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, the 17th inst., in National Hall, Market street, above Twelfth street, Philadelphia. This early hour is chosen in order to accommodate gentlemen who will wish to go directly from their places of business to the Festival, and ample provision will be made for furnishing them supper as early as six o'clock, or at a later hour if preferred by them. Hot coffee, tea, oysters, chicken-salad, etc., will be provided, and later in the evening, ice-cream and cake. The principle which always governed the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Fairs, of rendering an equivalent for money received, will be adhered to at the Festival; and the visitor there may enjoy the consciousness that he is eating a good supper at a fair price, and aiding thereby a good cause.

The celebrated Miss Greenfield has kindly promised to enrich the occasion with the music of her wonderful voice, and all lovers of exquisite vocal music should embrace this opportunity of hearing this famous singer. The Committee expect to secure other vocal and instrumental music of a high order, so that the musical attractions of the occasion will be worth the price of a ticket of admission.

The stereoscopic representations which have been generously promised to us, are of great beauty and highly instructive. The Committee would suggest that all visitors should come at an early hour, that they may lose none of the varied entertainments of the evening.

The purchase of tickets beforehand will facilitate entrance to the hall, and lighten the labors of our volunteer doorkeepers.

Contributions to the refreshment table, which we trust our friends in the city and country will supply in abundance, they will please send to the house of Mrs. Charlotte Peirce, No. 501 North-Seventh street, Philadelphia, on or before the 16th inst.

On behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

MARY GREW.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, January 6th, 1867.

On Tuesday last, the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation was celebrated by a parade of our colored military company, the Shaw Guards, Capt. Watkins, who, with their large and well-trained band (also colored) made as good an appearance as did the Boston Cadets, when they performed escort duty for the Governor the day following; and also by meetings in the Tremont Temple, extending through the day and evening. The meeting was organized by the choice of Rev. Leonard A. Grimes as President, William Wells Brown, Lewis Hayden, William C. Nell, and others, as Vice-Presidents, and Messrs. Ruffin and Trotter as Secretaries. Among the speakers of the two day sessions were Frederick Douglass, Charles L. Remond, William Wells Brown, Rev. Edwin Thompson, E. H. Uniac, Rev. Mr. Woodworth, and a child named Daniel Boone, only ten years old, but showing a remarkable talent for oratory, which he is accustomed to use for the Temperance cause.

At the commencement of the evening session, a well-worded set of resolutions was read by one of the Secretaries, calling attention, among other things, to the fact that colored people are put up at auction in Maryland, that they have been wantonly murdered in various Southern localities, and treated with indignity and outrage in the Southern country generally; also making protest against the admission of Nebraska as a State while the word "white" remains in her Constitution; also repeating their protest against any distinction in the laws on the ground of color or race.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted; and a petition embodying them, which had been previously drawn up, was offered to the audience for their signatures.

At this evening session, when the audience was largest, amounting perhaps to 1,500, a sort of passage at arms took place which excited intense interest. Our friend Charles Lenox Remond made a speech which, according to his wont, dwelt rather on the much remaining to be done for the rights, the elevation, and the welfare of the colored race, than on the large instalments of it already accomplished. He was followed by our friend the Hon. George Thompson, who, speaking with his well-known eloquence, but with more vigor and at greater length than his later speeches have displayed, described the wonderful changes that have been wrought in our country—sketched a forcible contrast between the present times and those of 1835, or even of 1850—gave a glowing description of the amount and the degree of the rights won for the colored people North and South, and now secured in their possession—bestowed hearty and elaborate praises upon Abraham Lincoln—and warmly congratulated the American people, white and black, upon the progress they have made towards freedom and justice.

Of the *excess* of eulogy bestowed upon President Lincoln in this eloquent address, and of the exaggeration manifest in Mr. Thompson's description of the present condition of the colored people in this country, I should not have felt called upon to speak, but for the harshness and injustice of the criticism which the orator proceeded to make upon the speech of Mr. Remond. It is true, as Mr. Thompson said, that in a meeting called for the express purpose of rejoicing, thanksgiving, mutual congratulation, and the celebration of a great and auspicious historical event, it is peculiarly fitting that the rejoicing should be expressed, the benefit dwelt upon, and the achiever of the good work honored. The strain of eulogy which he chose was, it must be admitted, more in harmony with the occasion than was the criticism offered by Mr. Remond. Each of these able speakers, like the knights who came from opposite directions to comment on the shield, confined himself to a view of *one side* of the subject in question. These specimens of excess on one side and deficiency on the other, might have been considered fairly to balance each other. But when Mr. Thompson chooses to take such an occasion elaborately to point out defects in Mr. Remond's position, and the latter magnanimously refrains from retorting criticism upon the former, as he might very effectively have done, it becomes needful that some statement should be made, somewhere, of what were the undue praises bestowed upon the gold side of the shield.

The harshness and injustice which I have referred to as characterizing this criticism were not in its form, though they were in its substance. Mr. Thompson spoke of *his friend* Mr. Remond, and described their journeys and labors together in the early days of the Anti-Slavery struggle, when vigorous assault upon the peculiar institution was the appropriate work of both. It was easy to describe an immense contrast between the facts and prospects of that time, and the facts and prospects now before us, and Mr. Thompson did it eloquently, though with more eloquence than accuracy. He showed his old power in debate, his old skill in rhetoric and wealth of illustration. He carried with him the sympathies of a great majority of the audience, and was vehemently applauded in portions of the speech, and at its close. But when he characterized the Emancipation Proclamation in such terms of praise as it would have deserved had it been universal instead of curtailed by exceptions, and promptly and spontaneously made, instead of being delayed year after year until "military necessity" compelled it—when he rehearsed certain noble words of President Lincoln, and gave the man such eulogy for them as he would have deserved had he not also said that, "had it been in his power, he would have crushed the rebellion without the slightest interference with slavery"—when he glorified the present state of things as showing a complete and utter annihilation of slavery, specifying that not a single slave and not a single whipping-post were now to be found throughout the land, in spite of the facts made known everywhere by the press, and rehearsed in the resolutions just read in his hearing, that *within the last month* men have been sentenced to be "sold as slaves" by a civil court in Maryland, and actually sold at auction as slaves in pursuance of this sentence, and that the public whipping of negroes, with the hope thereby to disqualify them for citizenship, has fearfully increased of late in various States of the South—and when, finally, in view of the exaggerated representations which he thus made of the motive, and the scope, and the completed success of the Emancipation, he bestowed upon Abraham Lincoln just such terms of praise as properly belong to GARRISON, who *commenced* the movement in the face of Church, State, Society, Commerce, and the Press, and to PHILLIPS, who *continued* the movement and held up the standard when many of the old antagonists of slavery laid aside their arms, erroneously thinking that the contest was over—when he did all this, I say, and then expressed intense astonishment at the purport of Mr. Remond's speech, saying "What can Charles be thinking of? What grievance can Charles find now? What does this strain of complaint mean?" and other expressions implying the absence of *all* ground of complaint in regard to the present condition of the colored man—it will be seen that this was a severe trial of Mr. Remond's patience, and a temptation to make prolonged appeal to the facts above hinted at, and many more, by which his position might have been sustained.

Mr. Remond, however, did not yield to this temptation. He rose as soon as Mr. Thompson took his seat, and said, in a few calm and temperate words, what it was due to himself to say, namely, that the representation made by his friend Mr. Thompson had not shown him any error in his own position. He had nothing to retract from his statement of the incompleteness of the present *status* of the colored man, both North and South; and as to the complaint of his presentation of "grievances," he should always have one to present while any portion of the rights of man were denied to his colored countrymen on account of their color.

The Message of Gov. Bullock to the Legislature of Massachusetts, just published, states the following as well known and unquestionable facts:

"Over a large part of the section recently in rebellion, barbarous provisions of local codes, which it was supposed were abandoned under emancipation, are still retained and enforced in disregard of the national law. In numerous instances the rights of citizens of other States are either denied, or made worthless by the ban of public reproach; * * * * the laws of the National Congress are too often defied."

The publicity of the facts here referred to, of the continued enforcement of the barbarous provisions of the Southern slave codes "over a large part" of the States lately in rebellion should, it seems to me, have sufficed to prevent Mr. Thompson from representing the emancipation as a completed work, an accomplished present success; but it should at least have prevented him from this manner and extent of criticism upon a fellow-laborer.

The Message of Gov. Bullock contains some excellent counsels on reconstruction. He earnestly advocates "Universal Suffrage," though giving no sign that he understands this to comprise the voting of women. He considers that "the great fundamental idea of the American polity is the consent of the governed, through the ballot, to the accession of their rulers to power, and to their administrative measures." He views the occasion now before us as a Providential opportunity to exercise *justice* to the colored race, and thinks that gratitude joins with justice in urging their elevation to full citizenship, and the amplest provision for a defence of their rights against the foe whose ill-will they incurred by helping us in our time of need. His argument against enforcing an educational test in our present *national circumstances seems to me sound*, and well calculated to persuade those in Massachusetts who have heretofore held the contrary opinion.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, January 7, 1867.

WELL, Congress, or a faction of it, has reassembled, and has spent three days of, in the main, indulgence in the "weak, washy, everlasting flood" of talk intended to kill time till the still laggard Senators and Representatives shall return to enable a constitutional quorum to dispatch business.

While these Congressmen have been feasting, merry-making and wine-bibbing, many of them at the expense of prominent rebels guilty of wanton crimes which should forever exclude them from any intercourse with loyal men who have the slightest regard for country or humanity, the Supreme Court of the nation has struck hands with the traitor of the White House, and together they threaten to utterly revolutionize the policy of Liberty and Justice which dates its practical commencement on the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1864—to declare the entire legislation of Congress durjng the war, as well as the corresponding action of the Executive Department, unconstitutional and therefore void!

What is the prospect of remedy for this danger from the body that comes fresh from the elections instructed by the most magnificent unbroken majorities ever recorded by a free people? Witness the result of the Congressional caucus of Saturday night. A simple resolution of investigation into the President's conduct, merely preliminary to the serious work of impeachment, was summarily rejected! Members, so they said, are going to move "very cautiously in so grave a matter"—they are "going to wait a few weeks and watch the progress of events," and the report of the New Orleans Investigating Committee. In the meantime the President contemptuously refuses to enforce the Civil Rights bill—nay, its bitterest and most openly declared enemies and wanton violators throughout the South are his trusted friends and counsellors. The Freedmen's Bureau perishes by the same decree which destroys military tribunals, and the military force of the Union which shattered armed rebellion, and has since kept the swarming rebel desperadoes and outlaws somewhat in check is rendered utterly powerless, even to defend itself from outrage and murder (*vide* Sheridan's official report) and covers in its straggling camps the object of the gibes and scoffs and jeers of the venomous rebels who carry Andrew Johnson's pardons in their pocket. Murder is licensed and outrage is the paramount law. A cry of agony and despair comes to us from the persecuted loyalists through every channel of communication, protesting against their longer subjection to such grievous tyranny and slow but sure extermination. What answer does that body make, which is their only present help and refuge? Why, they leisurely discuss renewed projects of legislation, as the grand cure-all for the woes and calamities which threaten the nation! If they had the power to *enforce* their legislation, the Civil Rights law and the Freedmen's Bureau would render further legislation useless. But not having such power of enforcement, how criminally cruel is it to excite false hopes and beguile the oppressed loyalists and the nation with the delusive idea that mere acts of legislation, however sweeping and stringent, can do aught to accomplish the national will, and make peace either lasting or possible, while the conspirator of the White House is able to struggle every measure which it may conceive at the moment of its birth! I care not what ingenious provisions subtle lawyers, skilful politicians, or wise statesmen may frame and enact to circumvent the bold, bad man whom foul assassination, under the decrees of an inscrutable Providence, has for the time invested with more than regal power over the interests and destinies of the country—they will avail nothing against the effective coalition of the Executive and the Judiciary. Congress is the organized expression of the popular will, purpose, authority. But that will can only be lawfully carried into effect through the Executive arm of the government—the President. That arm is paralyzed—no, I mistake, it has become doubly energized by the infernal spirit which trained its guns upon Fort Sumter, and murdered our poor soldiers by inches in the horrible dens of Salisbury and Andersonville. Will the man who tramples the Civil Rights law under his feet, and throws his powerful shield over the crimi-

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nals who have committed crimes as black as any which disgraced the rebellion be likely to infuse healthful vitality into any otherwise dead statute which Congress may choose to enact? Who so foolish as to dream of such a thing? And when the Supreme Court shall have consummated its part of the programme agreed upon, as Mr. Johnson and all his organs, great and small, personal and journalistic, do not hesitate to declare that is speedily will, where lies the power—except at the most imminent danger of a renewed appeal to arms, under the most disheartening circumstances—to destroy this formidable combination against popular rights and liberties? No sane man will deny that the attempted Presidential usurpation promises to be dangerous just in proportion to the extent with which it shall be able to cover its purposes and shelter its acts behind acknowledged forms of law and formal judicial decisions of the highest courts. The American people are too prone to accept, or, at the least, acquiesce in the most palpable denials of right and justice, if they be entrenched behind the Constitution and the law. True, six years of wicked rebellion, during which institutions and iniquities hoary with age and covered with the sacred rust of positive law and solemn decisions from the last court of appeal, have been razed to their very foundation stones, have taught us much, but I fear not enough.

Why, then, does Mr. Stevens, able, sagacious, courageous as he has on repeated occasions shown himself to be, fritter away the golden moments in cobbling up "enabling acts", in the discussion of which he may amuse the House by his keen retorts and witty allusions? Why does he not address every vital energy which he still so remarkably retains into the one great work and overpowering necessity of the hour—the impeachment and removal of the only man who stands as a dangerous obstacle in the way of the glorious fulfilment of our national destiny? This done; and the Supreme Court, with its *abiter dicta* in the shape of extra-judicial decisions, would again collapse into the insignificance and popular contempt to which the Dred Scott decision subjected it, and from which only Andrew Johnson's sinister treachery has temporarily resurrected it. *This* is the work to be done—and the *only* work that is worthy of statesmen and philanthropists. And it must come to that, sooner or later; cowardly, temporizing, and wilfully blind Congressmen to the contrary notwithstanding. If delayed, so much the worse for Congress, and so much the more calamitous for the country. I have no heart and but little patience to waste my time and space in your columns over any record or comment upon the proceedings in either House, while there is no prospect of anything being done save the merest shams in the way of temporary expedients and checks against the new treason. It is plain that nothing really *radical* is to be done by the Thirty-ninth Congress. They mean to turn over the whole subject to their successor, by which time we may be confronted by menacing perils which wise and courageous statesmanship would have wholly averted.

It may be, as Mr. Phillips fears, that the President is secretly using his influence to prepare the way for a sudden acquiescence in, and adoption of the Amendments, knowing that the bastard governments he has contrived in the South would be legitimatized and christened by this loyal Congress! Still, my impression is that such a fear may be dismissed. I believe, however, that Alabama will take the back track, and adopt the Amendment, more for the purpose of developing embarrassment and divisions in Congress than in any hope of being admitted. That any other of the Southern communities will follow suit I do not believe, simply for the reason that I do not think there is sense enough in the addled brains of their political leaders to lead them to take advantage of the ruinous blunder of the Republicans in proposing so complete a surrender. With a fatuity never excelled except by the French Bourbons, and beguiled by the assurances of the President, and his Mephistophelian adviser, they firmly believe that, with their aid and that of the Supreme Court, they shall be able shortly to regain "the lost cause" without any "degrading submission to the Yankee conditions." This is "the situation," as it looks to me, but I may be mistaken. However, we shall soon know what they will do.

I want to call your attention to a significant utterance from one of the President's confidential mouthpieces, the *Constitutional Union*, in commenting upon the *proposed resolutions of Mr. Ashley looking to impeachment*. As I have before remarked, its lucubrations derive *all* their weight from the intimate personal and political relations of its editor and proprietor with Mr. Johnson—fit man for such a master. It declares with emphasis that if the President really desired to revolutionize the government, "*he might have arrested, tried, and even executed*" prominent Congressmen during the intermission of that body! And it further declares that it "knows whereof it speaks" when it says that the people (meaning the rebels and copperheads) will utterly destroy the last vestige of the Republican party, if it does not cease from meddling with and vexing the great and good man who so worthily fills the office held by Washington and Jackson! This man was master of ceremonies on the never-to-be forgotten 22d of February last, and possesses just ability enough to reproduce, parrot-like, the droppings of wisdom which fall from the lips of the great statesman and jurist with whom it is and has been his unspeakable felicity to enjoy frequent hours of counsel and conviviality! Happy Republic! when its august head evinces such rare discrimination in the choice of his bosom-friends and advisers. I commend these frequent outpourings of the Presidential reservoir not for their intrinsic excellence so much as significant indications of the drift of the current in that quarter.

OBSERVER.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 6, 1867.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS delivered the third lecture of the course given by the Colored People's Association, on Thursday evening last, on the "Sources of Danger to the Republic." On this occasion there was no unoccupied seat in the body of the vast hall, the capacious platform was thronged, and during the entire evening many persons stood in the aisles, all listening with reflective attention to this eloquent champion of human liberty. Words of encomium were freely uttered in behalf of his noble speech. It was an admirable exposition of those important questions that are uppermost in the realm of political controversy, enforced by pertinent logic, sustained by impressive argument, and inspirited by glowing appeal. It was powerful and effective. His discussion of the Vice-Presidency question, and advocacy of the abolition of that office, was stamped with great ability and force. There was a degree of novelty about it that awakened attention, and the manner in which the speaker's thoughts, arguments and objections in relation thereto were received, was an indication of the favor entertained for Mr. Douglass's proposition.

"We have had bad luck with the Vice-Presidents," remarked the speaker. "When we elect a President, there is no necessity for having another ready-made to succeed him, no more than it would be for a wife at the time of her marriage to have a ready-made husband to succeed the first one. Marvellous was the plan of appointing a President, and at the same time selecting another to take his place in the event of death, resignation or removal. It was done in utter ignorance, apparently, of human nature. Men are men—ambition is ambition. The Presidency is a tempting bauble, a constant source of temptation. In appointing a Vice-President, you appoint a man to stand directly behind the President, and immediately within striking distance of him, whose interests, whose ambition will be instantly subserved by the death of the President, however that death may be brought about. I believe the President of the United States will sit more securely and safely in his chair when the shadow of the Vice-President ceases to fall upon him."

Mr. Douglass then spoke of the danger of assassination. "How easy it would be," he said, "for a clique to surround the Vice-President after election, and ascertain how far he sympathizes with the President, and learn from him, without making him a party to their intentions, how he will bestow the patronage of the government in case he comes in possession of the office of President; and then how easy it would be to procure the man who would send the President staggering to his grave! In my belief, the man who assassinated Abraham Lincoln, knew Andrew Johnson then as we know him now. I don't want a President to be exposed to this danger. It is a most striking and instructive fact, that of all the Vice-Presidents we have had, not one of them who has succeeded a dead President, ever followed in the footsteps of his predecessor." This topic was further discussed by Mr. Douglass, and as an interesting episode he called upon all present who were in favor of abolishing the Vice-Presidency to say "aye," which was heartily greeted by a deafening affirmative response.

The other sources of danger that the speaker pointed out and considered, were the following: "the one-man power," the "two-term principle," the "veto power," the "pardoning power," "secret diplomacy," and the "Constitutional Amendment."

The consideration of the "one-man power," which Andrew Johnson has taught us the absurdity and danger of fostering in our form of government, gave the orator a fine opportunity of descanting, satirically and contemptuously, upon the character of that wretched individual, whom he mildly characterized as the "vilest embodiment of ingratitude and baseness." With what zest, what spirit flowed forth those withering words of denunciation, sarcasm and stinging rebuke!

The Amendment was stigmatized as a "mean, contemptible, base and most ungrateful betrayal by the people's loyal representatives of your only friends at the South during the war. It leaves to each of these rebel States the right to determine whether or not the black man shall have any political rights at all. Shame on Congress if it admits a single rebel State upon the adoption of that Amendment! I wish to God that you American people could hate as you love. You would sacrifice your friends to make peace with your enemies. There was a time when the black man was somebody. When rebel armies were in the field, bold and defiant, there was room under the American flag for all its defenders."

Mr. Douglass spoke about two hours. His words, and especially his most radical utterances, were frequently greeted by enthusiastic demonstrations of accord. Many who heard him on this occasion for the first time, and they were numerous, spoke fervently in his praise as a great speaker, and in admiration of his talents, power and capacity.

As an evidence of Miss Dickinson's restoration to health, she is announced to speak on the 9th instant at the Academy of Music. Her subject will be, "SOMETHING TO DO." This is advertised as a new lecture, "being a discussion of the mental and moral necessity of a wider sphere of exertion and usefulness for woman, for her own sake and that of society—a portraiture of the evils that result from the enforced and fashionable idleness of woman."

Henry Ward Beecher is also announced to lecture at the Academy, on the 10th instant. Subject, "Universal Suffrage."

The preparations for the Festival of the Friends of Freedom, to be held here on the 17th, are in active progress. It too often happens that the work required to be performed in such an undertaking devolves upon a few individuals. It is to be hoped that the friends of the good cause in Philadelphia and its vicinity will aid in some manner towards promoting the success and satisfaction of this happy enterprise, and not delay in the absence of repeated urging and appeal. Let each do according to strength and opportunity. The greater and more general the effort, the more propitious will be the result and the greater the good accomplished. United and earnest exertion is demanded. No pains should be spared, no action withheld, to make this a pleasing and joyous reunion, a thoroughly delightful entertainment, a rare occasion of social intermingling, genial and refreshing, and a source of beneficence to the noble cause that needs all our aid for its advancement.

You may have noticed recently in one or two of our daily papers, perhaps not more than one unless in a very meagre form, a decision given by Judge Thompson in the case of two colored persons who were brutally maltreated by a fiendish conductor of one of our city cars. This infamous decision of a cruel, hard-hearted Judge was born of a spirit allied to that from which sprang the wicked one of Dred Scott memory. The victims of this judicial outrage entered a car, paid their fare, and then were ordered to leave. They refused to do this, and were shamefully abused by the barbarous conductor, were kicked, rudely insulted and otherwise basely treated. And then, added to their sorry grievance, from the source whence they hoped to find redress, was this monstrous decision of a heartless Judge. The only duty he could see in the premises was to dismiss the case as being unworthy of trial. "*My duty*," says this Judge, "compels me to enter a nonsuit in this case, and accordingly it is done." And on what ground does he base his decision. Behold his argument, his wisdom, and his justice! "Judge Thompson said that if bad conduct took place on the cars the company is not responsible unless the company has authorized this conduct. He was clearly of opinion that plantiff must show that this conduct was the result of the regulations of the company. Unless this was shown, the company was not responsible." Could anything be more barbarous, more preposterous than such twaddle as this? Those same lips had the effrontery to declare—"I have always felt kindly disposed towards the colored race, and will always protect them in all their rights." Pity the mortal among them who is placed at the mercy of such protection as this! Suppose these injured people had been white; kinsmen of this inhuman judge; a mother or sister, brother or son; does any sane man believe that he would have insulted them with such protection as he gave these aggrieved people of color? Had they all been brutally kicked out of a car, would it have aggravated the case, doubled the outrage, by actually thrusting them out of court, leaving them without present redress or hope for the future? Never. These were colored people, and that circumstance brought them anguish instead of relief—oppression instead of justice.

From a sermon recently preached by Rev. B. F. Barrett, Swedenborgian, suggested by the infamous decision of Judge Thompson, I quote the following extracts: "What is the natural tendency," he asks, "and inevitable effect of this unrighteous decision? We all know that it tends to encourage the street-car companies in their inhuman and unjust regulations in regard to our colored fellow-citizens, and to encourage their agents—their conductors—in their insolence and brutality to colored people. There can be no doubt that this decision was in the interests of injustice, oppression and wrong, and not of justice, humanity and right. It was a decision that doubtless made the devils rejoice, but would hardly fail to make the angels weep. * * * And the saddest part of all is, that this infamous decision can be rendered in the midst of a professedly Christian community, and awaken here so little indignation or sorrow. The saddest thing is, that such a decision can be rendered, and not call forth one loud chorus of scorn and reprobation from every newspaper, pulpit and Christian man in the community. There is some terrible defect in the Christianity of our city, something rotten, heartless and hollow in the religion of this town; for a religion which is not quick to feel for the wrongs of others, especially of the poor and helpless, is a religion unknown to Christ, or one in which he has no part; and a religion that is quick thus to feel, cannot see the rights of a feeble but innocent class of people, trampled on without an indignant protest."

W.

INFORMATION WANTED.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IN the remarks of Henry B. Stanton, as printed in THE STANDARD of December 8th, speaking of the speeches of John Bright in Dublin, Ireland, after saying that the same people who applauded him in Dublin would come to New York and vote for the worst kind of despotism on the face of the earth (which is true), he uses these words: "When you attribute the condition of the Irish people solely to the church and land monopoly, you do not know precisely what you are talking about nor exactly whom you are talking to."

Now if the condition of the Irish people, and also of the blacks in our own country, is not to be attributed to the church and land monopoly, then a great many reformers have made very great mistakes.

Yours, in the holy, holy cause of freedom,

SEWARD MITCHELL.

Cornville, December 17, 1866.

TO LYCEUM MANAGERS.—MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER, formerly of Boston, has prepared two lectures, "The Nation's Great Opportunity," and "The Colored Man as a Social and Political Force," which she will deliver to Lyceums, etc. Application may be made direct to Mrs. Harper, No. 107 North-Fifth street, Philadelphia. She has permission to refer to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Revs. R. C. Waterson, John T. Sargent and Leonard A. Grimes, Charles W. Slack, Esq., and Mrs. J. C. Johnson, 78 Temple street.

THE THIRTY-THIRD

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary beg leave to notify their friends,—the friends of the negro and of universal liberty,—that the thirty-third Anniversary will be held in Music Hall, Boston, on Thursday, January 24, 1866. The aim of this effort is to give the American Anti-Slavery Society the means to continue its operations, and especially to sustain the publication of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Notwithstanding the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery throughout the Union, has been ratified, still the rights of the negro race are in fearful peril. Whether that anti-slavery provision shall be practically a dead letter, or really work its intended effect, is to be decided this Winter. Whether slavery shall continue to exist in everything but the name, is to be decided this Winter. Overborne by a powerful, educated, and wealthy race,—one inflamed by old prejudice and recent defeat, and armed with exclusive political privileges,—the negro, even if technically free, is still a slave, while destitute of civil and political rights. Even now, the rebel States propose a labor code, where differences between master and servant are to be settled, not, as in all free countries, by courts and judges, but by *the lash, in the hands of irresponsible masters*. This stamps the system as a substantial slavery. The plan of reconstruction, urged by the Administration, leaves the black still a slave. The Constitutional Amendments proposed by Congress are a deliberate desertion of the Negro and surrender him defenceless into the hands of his old masters. These Amendments break the National pledge to our black allies, and if accepted by the States would jeopard the safety of the Union and make Emancipation for many years to come a form. It is still, unfortunately, true that, with a few illustrious exceptions, the leaders of the Republican party and its most influential journals avow their willingness to admit the rebels back without securing land, ballot, and education to the negro. No matter what rights are seemingly secured to him, if these, the defence and guaranty of all, are denied. With land and ballot in the negro's hands, and means of education in his reach, no matter what or how liberal terms are conceded to the rebels. Without these elements of self-defence, all pretence of protection or security for the black is an absurd sham.

The Managers feel it to be still their duty to watch for the real emancipation of this victim race. While so many lips are sealed by party temptations, and so many journals silent or neutral, from one cause or another, it becomes the Abolitionists,—it is a solemn duty imposed upon them by all the pledges of their past lives, to rally public opinion, and secure the constant proclamation as widely as possible, of the whole truth, without fear, compromise, or favor. They therefore earnestly appeal to their friends, to all the old and tried members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as to those whose eyes the war has opened, for the means to perform, as efficiently as possible, this momentous duty.

Those not able to be personally present to aid on this occasion, and to listen to the appeals of the zealous and tried laborers in this cause, may send their contributions to R. P. HALLOWELL, Esq., No. 98 Federal street, Boston, Mass.

LUCRETIA MOTT, Pennsylvania.
MARY GREW, Philadelphia.
LIDIAN EMERSON, Concord, Mass.
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SARAH SHAW RUSSELL, Boston, Mass.
LYDIA D. PARKER, " "
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ANNA TALBOT FAIRBANKS, "
ARMENIA S. WHITE, New Hampshire.

PEACE CONVENTION.

A CONVENTION of the Pennsylvania Peace Society will be held in the FRANKLIN INSTITUTE, Seventh street, above Chestnut, PHILADELPHIA, First Month (Jan.) 18th, 1867, at 3½ and 7½ o'clock p. m.

All persons, irrespective of religious or political belief, condition, sex, or color, are invited to these meetings, in earnest vindication of those great rights and truths, and that uncompromising justice, virtue, and morality which, through love to God and love to man, comprehend and subserve the cause of pure and perfect PEACE; and, as an essential means to an end, endeavor—by every moral principle and power—to correct and dethrone those false opinions and practices of anger, hatred, revenge, selfishness, and the like, which of necessity engender contention and culminate in War.

Important propositions will be presented, and able speakers from various parts of the country have been invited to aid in their consideration.

Those who wish to be considered members, will please send their names and address to any of the following officers of the Society:

GEORGE W. TAYLOR, President, Philadelphia.
ALFRED B. JOSTIN, Secretary, "
HENRY T. CHILD, M.D., Treasurer, "
ALFRED H. LOVE, Philadelphia,
LUCRETIA MOTT, "
JAMES MOTT, "
HENRY M. LAING, "
JOSEPH M. TRUMAN, JR., "
REBECCA T. MAGILL, New Hope, Pa,
REV. C. W. THOMPSON, York, Pa,
WILLIAM J. MULLEN, Philadelphia,
FRANCES PARKER, "
T. ELLWOOD CHAPMAN, "
Executive Committee.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

THE reconstruction of our National Union is a broader, deeper work than the restoration of the rebel States. It is the lifting of the entire nation into the practical realization of our Republican idea.

All persons who feel that, for the permanent settlement and security of this country, the Constitution and laws thereof must be founded on EQUAL RIGHTS and absolute justice, irrespective of color or sex, are invited to meet in Convention, in PHILADELPHIA, on THURSDAY, January 17th, 1867, at 10 o'clock a.m., in the FRANKLIN INSTITUTE, Seventh street, above Chestnut. Able speakers from abroad are expected to be present.

LUCRETIA MOTT, ELLEN M. CHILD,
ROBERT PURVIS, MARY GREW.
SARAH POUR, ALFRED H. LOVE,
Committee of Arrangement.

Communications and contributions in aid of the work may be sent to either one of the Committee, No. 212 Chestnut street, Philadelphia.

December 13, 1866.

FREEDOM, JUSTICE, PEACE!

To the Editor of the Standard:

PHILADELPHIA invites you—as indeed all the world reached by our greetings—to the three conventional and festival gatherings to be held here during this month.

On the morning and afternoon of the 17th inst. the friends of Equal Rights will meet and present their appeals and make their demands for such a thorough regeneration of this Republic upon the immutable principles of the Declaration of Independence, such a living of the truth, and such a life of the word, as will ensure prosperity through deserts. They will repudiate the anti-republican and anti-christian distinctions of sex and color, in national policy and privilege, and demand the right to the ballot and the office for all.

On the evening of the 17th, the Friends of Freedom, and particularly the old Abolitionists who have worked for nearly half a century for freedom, will meet in a reunion and festival at one of our largest Halls. Many prominent friends of the cause will be present and a few short addresses may be expected, but the grand idea is to have a cordial mingling of the workers for liberty.

There will be music and refreshments, and a splendid exhibition of the Stereorama by Edward Parrish, Dr. Hunt, and others, comprising views of various parts of the world and some particularly adapted to this occasion.

In other rooms will be time-honored relics and memorials, and the whole arrangement will aim to afford a season for congratulation and encouragement and a determination of continuance until every right is obtained for the oppressed.

Then on the 18th, the next day, following very naturally these meetings for freedom and equal rights, because of their direct connection and indeed necessity thereto, will be held a series of meetings of the Pennsylvania Peace Society. Thus—first showing how peace can be attained, then why it is the truest and purest life, and the only one we can lead to be good citizens and consistent and enlightened followers of Christ.

A. H. L.

Philadelphia, 1 mo. 8, 1867.

THE NEGRO.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I THANK Brother Whipple for his very important article in THE STANDARD of December 1st; but it seems to me that much more can be said on the subject. Much has been said and written on the inferiority of the blacks and the superiority of the whites. Now, I have been a very earnest observer for many years, of the conduct of the two races, and the question naturally came up—what makes a race or person good or bad? What has been the conduct of the whites, and what has been the conduct of the blacks? The former have been brutal and the latter Christ-like. I doubt whether history can show a race of people that have carried out in their daily lives the true principles of doing unto others as they would have others do unto them, better than the blacks have. How truly sublime has been their conduct during the war! I always lack words to express my feelings when I am thinking of what they did for the suffering soldier. In a great many cases they have had the opportunity to slaughter the helpless, yet when have they done it?

SEWARD MITCHELL.

MR. ASHLEY'S IMPEACHMENT RESOLUTION.

MR. ASHLEY, of Ohio, on Monday last, succeeded in getting his impeachment resolution before the House. It was strongly opposed by numerous parliamentary manœuvres, by such Republicans as Bingham and Spalding, but was sustained by the House by an encouraging vote, and referred to the Judiciary Committee.

In offering the resolution Mr. Ashley said:

Mr. Speaker: I rise to a question of privilege. I rise to perform a painful duty, but one which I feel to be imperative, a duty which I think cannot be postponed, and cannot, without great criminality on our part, be longer neglected. I had hoped that that duty would have devolved on an older and more experienced member of the House than myself. Prior to the holiday recess I asked a number of gentlemen to introduce the resolution which I tried to introduce, and which the House refused to suspend the rules to enable me to do. Conscious that the loyal people of the country demand at our hands the proposition which I am about to submit, I am determined that no effort on my part shall be wanting.

On my responsibility as a Representative of this House, in its presence and before the American people, I charge Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, with the commission of high crimes and misdemeanors, and propose a resolution.

I send to the Clerk's desk charges and specifications, which I ask to be read, as follows:

I do impeach Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

I charge him with usurpation of power and violation of law. In that he has corruptly abused the appointing power. In that he has corruptly used the pardoning power. In that he has corruptly disposed of the public property of the United States. In that he has corruptly interfered in elections, and committed acts, and conspired with others to commit acts, which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors, Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be and they are hereby authorized to inquire into the official conduct of Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, discharging the power and duties of President of the United States, and to report to this House whether in their opinion the said Andrew Johnson, while in said office, has been guilty of acts which were designed or calculated to overthrow, subvert or corrupt the government of the United States, or any Department or officer thereof; and whether the said Andrew Johnson has been guilty of any act, or has conspired with others to do acts which, in contemplation of the Constitution, are high crimes and misdemeanors, requiring the interposition of the constitutional power of this House; and that said Committee have power to send for persons and papers; to administer the customary oaths to witnesses.

The following is the vote in detail on the resolution:

YEAS—Alley, Ames, Arnell, Ashley of Nevada, Ashley of Ohio, Baker, Baldwin, Banks, Baxter, Beaman, Benjamin, Bidwell, Bingham, Blaine, Boutwell, Brandegee, Bromwell, Broomall, Buckland, Bundy, Clark of Ohio, Clark of Kansas, Cobb, Cook, Cullum, Darling, Defrees, Delano, Denning, Dixon, Donnelley, Driggs, Eckley, Farnsworth, Farquhar, Ferry, Garfield, Grinnell, Harding of Illinois, Hart, Hays, Henderson, Higby, Hill, Holmes, Hooper, Hubbard of West Virginia, Hubbard of Connecticut, Ingersoll, Jencks, Julian, Kasson, Kelley, Kelso, Ketchum, Kuykendall, Lawrence of Pennsylvania, Lawrence of Ohio, Long, Longyear, Lynch, Marston, McKee, McRuer, Mercur, Miller, Morehead, Morrill, Moulton, Myers, O'Neill, Orth, Paine, Patterson, Perham, Pike, Price, Randall of Kentucky, Randall of New York, Rice of Massachusetts, Rice of Maine, Sawyer, Scheck, Scofield, Starr, Stevens, Stokes, Thayer, John L. Thomas, Jr., Trowbridge, Upson, Van Aernam, Ward of New York, Warner, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Indiana, Welker, Wentworth, Williams, Wilson of Iowa, Wilson of Pennsylvania, Windom—167.

NAYS—Messrs. Ancona, Bergen, Campbell, Cooper, Dawson, Davis, Dodge, Eldridge, Finck, Glossbenner, Harding of Kentucky, Hawkins, Hise, Hogan, Hubbell of Ohio, Humphrey, Hunter, Kerr, Latham, Leftwich, McCullough, Niblack, Nicholson, Noell, Phelps, Randall of Pennsylvania, Raymond of New York, Ritter of Kentucky, Ross, Sloan, Strouse, Taylor of Tennessee, Taber, Taylor of New York, Trimble, Ward, Whaley, Winfield—39.

WHAT SOUTHERN LOYALISTS THINK.—The Southern Republican Association, of which Thomas J. Durant is President, Daniel H. Bingham Secretary, and nearly every leading Unionist of the South a member, has adopted a series of resolutions and a memorial, which have been presented to Congress. The Reconstruction Committee, to which they were referred, will seriously consider the principles they affirm.

The resolutions claim that, after the surrender of the Rebel States, their population passed under the control of the President only in his character of commander-in-chief, and that in his capacity he had the power to control them and maintain order until the will of Congress could be asserted, but no longer. They declare that, in authorizing a portion of the people to frame new Constitutions, the President transcended his powers, and that the Governments thus created are illegal. Upon these grounds Congress is called upon to set aside these spurious organizations, and establish others, in which the following principles shall be embodied:

"Admission to the right of suffrage and eligibility to office of all loyal citizens of the United States, of whatever race or color they may be. Exclusion, until relieved by Congress, from the right of suffrage, and from all offices of honor, trust, or profit, whether under the Government of the United States, or any Territorial, State, municipal, or other authority whatever, of all persons who held office under the Confederate Government, or any State or power or authority proclaimed, heretofore, by Congress or the Executive, in insurrection against the United States; whether said office was military or civil, or of whatever nature it may have been; and also of all persons who voted for the ordinances of Secession, or who adhered to the Rebellion and gave it aid and comfort."

The memorial, in sustaining these positions, briefly reviews the Rebellion, the sufferings of the Union men in the South, and the effect of Mr. Johnson's policy. It shows that the men who began the Rebellion control the Southern States and fill all the offices; that the worst Rebels have been chosen as representatives in Congress; that the Civil Rights bill is disregarded, Union men and Freedmen murdered, as in New-Orleans, or socially and civilly proscribed; that the Constitutional Amendment has been defiantly rejected; in short, that Treason stands where it did in 1861, triumphant, and Loyalty lies prostrate, as in 1863.—*Tribune*.

THE PRESS.

THE SUPREME COURT.

THE *Herald*, in an article on the recent decision of the Supreme Court, says:

The Supreme Court has resumed its interpretations of the Constitution where they were left off under Taney and Buchanan. It goes behind the war and gives us the Constitution and State rights as they were preached by Jefferson under the inspirations of the Jacobin French republic, as they were agitated by Calhoun to the verge of the overt act of treason, and as they were carried into practice by half a million of his armed disciples in their late bloody conspiracy against the Union. On the other hand, Congress has assumed to act upon the theory that the Constitution as expounded by Judge Taney is no longer the Constitution of the United States, and that State rights, as preached by Calhoun and put into practice by Jeff. Davis, have been swept away with the rebellion. Shall the opinions of a bare majority of these nine old superannuated petitfoggers of the Supreme Court, left to the country as the legacy of the old defunct Southern slaveholding oligarchy, prevail, or shall these old marplots make way for the will of the sovereign people and the National Constitution as expounded by Washington and Hamilton, and as established by a million of Union bayonets in a four years civil war? This is the great question for 1868.

In this contest we take our position by the side of Congress—the law-making power, the sovereign controlling department of the National government, upon which all other departments are dependent and to which they are all subordinate. President, supreme judges, every officer of the government of every department may be impeached and removed by Congress; but Congress itself cannot be touched except by the sovereign people.

The *World* accepts triumphantly the recent decision of the Supreme Court as a vindication of the Democratic party. It says:

THE DEMOCRACY VINDICATED—DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The Democratic party has reason to congratulate itself on the recent judgment of the Supreme Court, declaring the military tribunals, which dominated over the public liberties during the war, unconstitutional. This decision is both a triumphant vindication of the Democratic party, and a happy augury for the future. The Supreme Court is the Thermopylæ of the present contest—the pass is narrow, the defenders are few, but their advantages of position are such that they can arrest and turn back the advancing hosts. Their decision on a matter which was the main topic of controversy between the Democratic party and its opponents during the war, is the final judgment of the law, as it will be the verdict of history, that the obloquy heaped upon Democrats for their opposition to the arbitrary exertions of authority, was undeserved. * * * *

The fact that the Supreme Court has escaped the servile contamination of the times, and pronounces an independent opinion which vindicates a party so traduced and maligned as the Democracy, is full of encouragement. If a majority of the Court dare stand up for the Constitution, on this question, there is solid ground for trusting its steadfast fidelity on all others. If Congress assumes that the Constitutional Amendment is carried by the ratification of merely the represented States, and proceeds to legislate on that hypothesis, the Supreme Court will set aside all such laws. If Congress undertakes to degrade States into Territories, its measures will be stranded on the same barrier. If Congress undertakes to resist the judgments of the Supreme Court, the Commander-in-Chief of the army will have some duties to perform in such a conjuncture.

THE SUPREME COURT.

The St. Louis *Democrat*, in an able article, says:

The effect of this action of the Supreme Court will be to force Congress to the speedy adoption of other and far more effectual measures for the protection of loyal men at the South. Whether the opinion is or is not utterly null and void in law, is of little practical consequence so long as the President chooses to act upon it. But one method remains. Loyal governments must be organized at the South without delay—governments which will secure to loyal men that protection by civil proceedings which has hitherto been partially secured through the operation of military or bureau courts.

Then, if the Supreme Court persists in its attempt to settle political questions by extra-judicial opinions, the Court itself will need the attention of Congress and the people. It is the peculiar beauty and excellence of our system of government that no successful resistance can long be made to the popular will—for the immediate representatives of the people have power to tie up a President's veto, to reorganize a court, or if necessary, to impeach and remove a President or a Judge. There is as yet no evidence, beyond a loose and vague report, that any exercise of the extreme powers of Congress will be necessary. But it may be well to remember that the Supreme Court represents only the traditions and practices of the government, while Congress represents the people. Whenever the people determine to change the practices of their government, as they have since 1856, they are likely to find an obstacle in a body to which traditions become supreme laws, just as the Talmudic commentaries seemed to the Jewish priesthood of higher authority than the scripture itself, and in every such case the people will sooner or later have their way. For, if the Judges of the Court will remember that this country is ruled not by a majority of nine lawyers in a closet, nor yet by a somewhat incoherent personage in the White House, nor yet by the constitutions and laws that the people's representatives have hitherto made, but by the people themselves—they will have light vouchsafed them whereby they may read their parchments somewhat more in accordance with the spirit of the age in which they live.

THE SUPREME COURT.

The Philadelphia *North American*, a conservative, moderate journal, in a carefully written article, says:

We may as well now state broadly our belief that that tribunal, which undertook by the Dred Scott decision to destroy forever the anti-slavery movement in America, is now attempting a similar movement toward the Republican policy of reconstruction, and that it is now about to fortify the Southern resistance and the Johnson usurpations by a series of decisions as perverse as that in the Dred Scott case. It will be no more successful in this instance than it was in that, and the record of the former attempt might be sufficient to warn the men who are now making the attempt.

There can be no doubt that it was the knowledge of this intention on the part of Davis and his associates that rendered the traitor Johnson defiant and outrageous in his conduct and language. The two things stand together and are part of the same scheme. We warn those who are concerned in it, that if it be pushed much further, the impeachment of Johnson, hitherto only talked of, will be undertaken in downright earnest, and that the Republicans will not for a moment shrink from the contest, however great it may be. Submission is not for the conquerors, but for the conquered.

LITERARY.

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The *Radical*, for January, Rev. S. H. Morse, Editor. Boston: Adams & Co., 21 Bromfield street, publishers.

Every Saturday, No. 54, Ticknor and Fields, Boston, publishers.

The *Freedmen's Record*, for January. N. E. Freedmen's Union Commission, Boston, 8 Studio Building.

The *Christian Examiner*, for January, 1867, H. W. Bellows, D.D., Editor. New York: James Miller, 522 Broadway.

The *Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bulletin*, and the *American Freedman* for November and December. The American F. and U. Commission.

The *Evangelical Repository*, Joseph T. Cooper and W. W. Barr Editors. Philadelphia: William S. Young, 52 North Sixth street.

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Advertisements.

CARD.

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Miscellaneous Department.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

GREAT son of truth! as history does unfold
Unto the gaze of men the changeless laws,
Writ in blood to nations which have sold
Their glorious birthrights to oppression's cause,
We read once more thy warnings bold and clear,
Or hear thy mellow accent rising far
Above the fickle mob's malignant jeer!

We call thee prophet, priest, or bard, or seer,
Or whatsoe'er, by right, those spirits are
That loom amid the ages, star on star,
To guide the peoples in their dim career.
For thine alone was that clear eagle-eye
Discerning, far beneath the heaven's verge,
The tempest creeping up the gilded sky
In cloud and storm, a darkly-gathered scourge
To mock a recreant land's security.
And thine alone the lips that dared to speak,
When justice walked unseen amid the law,
The awful vengeance she could deign to wreak
On States that feed unto the greedy maw
Of empire, the rights they, faltering, seek.

Thou friend of man, though men do name thee not
With those whose fame usurps the little hour,
Such names as thine are not with these forgot;
But hence shall grow into the living power
Of times which know pure freedom's purest worth;
And liberty shall spring, the dearest, fairest flower,
Above the continent which gave her birth.

—*Commonwealth.*

FRIEND JOSEPH.

BY LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

THE Society of Friends, called Quakers, are so much separated from the world in general by the peculiarity of some of their customs, that few are aware how largely the world has been indebted to them for its moral progress. The Puritans are mentioned a hundred times where the Quakers are mentioned once as pioneer martyrs in the cause of human freedom. Doubtless we owe an immense debt of gratitude to the Puritans, those valiant soldiers of the Lord; but the Quakers have always been more interesting to me, on account of their superior reliance on purely moral influence. When William Penn was threatened with imprisonment if he continued to carry his principles into practice, he replied, "Well, friend, thy *strength* shall never equal my *patience*;" and these words concisely express the difference between the two classes of heroes. The Puritan hewed his way to freedom with the battle-axe; the Quaker quietly took his stand, and said, "This rock shall fly from its firm base as soon as I." To my thinking, that moral heroism is superior to battle-axe courage. Government found it the most unmanageable thing they ever had to deal with. One of these moral heroes remained in prison fourteen years rather than pay sixpence; simply because the payment of the sixpence involved a violation of his principles. Of course, nothing could be done with such men, except to modify the laws to suit their consciences; and, after many ineffectual efforts to coerce them, this was finally done. The mace and the sword were lowered in their presence, and they were allowed to go straight forward on their peaceful mission, without let or hindrance.

The Puritans contended mainly for theological opinions and forms of church government. Bravely they encountered suffering and death to maintain freedom of opinion; and for this we owe them reverence and gratitude, as pioneers and benefactors of the human race. But the early Quakers manifested so little interest in theological doctrines that it has been a subject of much controversy whether George Fox and William Penn did or did not believe in the Trinity, and other commonly-received doctrines. Their mission was to maintain the superiority of moral principles over legal forms and established customs. They refused to fight, or to pay military taxes, because they believed it was at variance with the precepts of the gospel. More than half a century before any temperance societies were formed, they allowed no person to be a member of their Society who either distilled intoxicating liquors or sold them. Many years before abolition societies were formed, they established a rule that none of their members should sell a human being, or hold one in bondage. The equality of the sexes was practically maintained by them long before the question of woman's rights excited any public interest. Women were always accepted as preachers among them, and the business of the Society, in its various departments, has always been transacted by committees consisting of an equal number of men and women. In their communications with all men they said thee and thou, as a testimony in favor of human equality; now in the languages of Europe it was formerly the custom, still retained in several of them, to say you to a superior in rank, and thou to an inferior.

The world owes much to the Quakers. The good seed they scattered with such patient perseverance has since been sown, and resown, and has waved in many a precious harvest for the nourishment and growth of souls. As a sect, they have followed the universal law of development and decay. They were humble and faithful in days of persecution, as were Christians in the first centuries; and like them, when they became rich and respectable, they gradually conformed more and more to the ways of the world. Those who attain to truth through the experience of their own souls receive it as a living principle; those who inherit it as a tradition from their fathers become formalists.

The Quakers, like all old sects, abound with whited sepulchers; but here and there are individuals in whom their early principles are alive and fruitful. Among these is Friend Joseph, in whose family I resided for a long time. I carry ever in my memory a pleasant picture of his sunny farm: its vegetable garden, bordered with flowers, sloping down into luxuriant grain-fields; the clean lawn around the house, where a golden shower of dandelions made an "Eldorado in the grass;" the old-fashioned well, with its sweep high up in the air, and a fairy world of mosses and ferns down in its cool depths; and the old piazza, or "Dutch stoop," in front of the kitchen, where cat and kittens seated amicably with the old dog, and where I have seen many a dark pilgrim resting himself on his weary way from the house of bondage. It was not merely as a Quaker that my host was called Friend Joseph. All the neighbors, all the poor wanderers, and all the animals knew him as a friend. When heavy rains loosened the clayey structures that swallows had built under the eaves of his barn, Friend Joseph sympathized with their troubles, and climbed a ladder to place pentroofs over their nests. I used to think the birds knew nobody would shoot them there; for they hopped about under one's feet, and built their nests undisguisedly in all sorts of places. The horses looked so sleek and contented that a stranger, meeting them on the road, would have known they belonged to a kind man. So much sympathy was established between him and them that they had acquired many of his orderly habits. The Friends meeting-house was about two miles from his farm, and thither all the neighbors wended their way twice a week, in the forenoon of Sundays and Thursdays, called by them First Day and Fifth Day. It was a very rare thing for Joseph to be absent from these gatherings; but, if sickness or any other cause rendered it necessary, the horses, unless tied, would walk off to meeting when they saw the neighboring horses go, and stand quietly in the shed provided for them until the other horses started for home, when they would demurely walk back to the farm again.

Swedenborg says that in the other world the surroundings of a man visibly indicate the condition of his spirit. It is not so here; for very impure persons wear pearls, very dull people are brilliant with diamonds, and many poverty-stricken souls have their outward forms profusely ornamented with gold. The happy cats, the contented horses, the confiding birds, the neatly-weeded garden, the grass-plot free from sticks and stones, all indicated the interior state of the man who owned the farm.

Friend Joseph's house was smaller than many in the neighborhood, but there was always more room in it for the houseless and homeless. It would be difficult to count the number of fugitive slaves who rested there for a longer or shorter time, and then set out comforted and helped on their way to Canada. And, to the credit of these numerous fugitives be it recorded, that, destitute as they were, and brought up under the system of slavery, which is founded on robbery and inevitably induces habits of theft, not one of them ever stole anything from the man who treated them so kindly.

Not far distant from the farm lived an old man of very secluded and eccentric habits. He was born in Vermont but had early removed to one of the Carolinas, where he lived many years and purchased many slaves. He was reputed to be rich, but his manner of living gave no indication of it. His dress, his house, and the vehicle in which he rode were as plain as those of the Quaker farmers in his neighborhood. His only servants and companions in the house were a colored man and woman, who had been his slaves in Carolina, and who afterward married and had a small family. This man died while I was at the farm. Nothing had been previously known of his opinions concerning slavery; but the state of his conscience on that subject was revealed by the fact that by will he emancipated a large number of slaves in Carolina, and left each of them a legacy to enable them to quit the State, as the law required. To his faithful household servants he left $30,000, and appointed two Quaker guardians for the children; one of whom was Friend Joseph, who took the children to board with him for the convenience of attending school. They were good-looking, intelligent, and well-behaved; but because God had given them brown complexions the neighbors were as shy of them as if they had been young gorillas. There were two schools in the vicinity—one under the management of Orthodox Quakers, the other belonging to the Hicksite branch of the Society. The parents of both sects of scholars manifested equal uneasiness at having their children learn to read and spell in the same class with children of darker skins. When Friend Joseph and his family took them to meeting, and sat side by side with them, it caused as much commotion as if those healthy, bright-looking brown children had been infected with some fatal contagious disease. The elders of the Society decided that it was proper for them to sit in a small gallery by themselves. Friend Joseph, always averse to strife, readily assented; but he signified that, as guardian of the children, he should consider it his duty to go and sit with them, and that his wife and daughter would also feel it to be their duty. Now that was precisely the most troublesome thing he *could* have done. Strangers, who visited the meeting occasionally, would naturally inquire why that one family sat by themselves in an out-of-the-way, inconvenient place; and, if the true reason was given, peradventure some of them might say that Quakers must have degenerated greatly since the days of George Fox and William Penn. They had an unpleasant consciousness of this; and, because it made them uncomfortable, they felt as if Friend Joseph was a disturber of the peace. Assuredly, if George Fox had reappeared among them in his suit of leather, they would have dealt with him as a very disorderly member. The Quakers proved themselves no better and no worse than other sects. Every sect, after it has sought its way to toleration, and thence passed into respectability, gradually becomes lethargic, and fails to apply its original principles to the moral diseases of its time. The manna of the Lord has to be gathered fresh continually; it will not keep. Individuals who are alive in defunct societies are sure to be impeded at every step of their straightforward progress. Friend Joseph, who earnestly desired to live in peace and friendship with all men, found himself engaged in a series of struggles. Duties, not of his own seeking, came to him, as did the guardianship of the colored children; it was his nature to perform duties conscientiously, and in the performance of them he could not avoid jostling the prejudices of his neighbors. These little discords where he longed for harmony sometimes saddened him; but they never made him either weak or stern. He went quietly on his way, trying to help everybody, and systematically ignoring all distinctions or class or color. When I saw him so inflexible in his uprightness, while his gentle spirit yearned for the sympathy he forfeited, I frequently thought of Keble's beautiful words:

> "Oft in life's stillest shade reclining,
> In desolation unrepining,
> Without a hope on earth to find
> A mirror in an answering mind,
> Meek souls there are, who little dream
> Their daily strife an angel's theme."

In the case of the colored children, Friend Joseph's quiet persistence carried his point. They were allowed to sit with him and his family in their accustomed seats in the meeting-house, and the teacher of the Orthodox Quaker school received them into her classes. They behaved well, and no disastrous consequences followed this mingling of different complexions.

No one could justly bring against Friend Joseph the charge of being a Quixotic philanthropist, who neglected his own business to look after the wrongs of others. He was diligent and frugal, and thus earned for himself a right to indulge in the only luxury he cared for—the luxury of benevolence. His large heart saved him from being penurious, while his orderly and thrifty habits prevented that careless expenditure which too often results in making other people pay for the gratification of our good impulses. Though an old-fashioned Quaker, in dress as well as principles, his course of reading was never sectarian. He was eager to learn from *all advocates of justice*, freedom, and humanity, and the fruits of it were visible in the enlargement of his mental and moral vision. Years ago, he wrote to me: "There is much said about the decline of the Society of Friends. Some grieve over it, while others rejoice. I am not much affected by it either way; for I firmly believe there is as much genuine Quakerism in the world as there ever was, although it may not always appear under the form of a straight coat or broad brim. I can fully subscribe to a sentiment I once heard thee utter, that a very good heart may beat under a fashionable dress. If every member of the Society of Friends should abandon its principles, it would not affect the truth of that glorious declaration of spiritual independence and individual freedom which its founders proclaimed to the world. In my estimation, it was far superior to the justly celebrated declaration of personal freedom and political independence put forth by the founders of this sham republic. I believe that genuine Quakerism, instead of declining, is actually reviving and increasing. The spirit is not dead, or dying; it has merely removed from its old, narrow tenement, and taken possession of more spacious and better-lighted apartments. Truth once promulgated can never be stopped in its course till its mission is accomplished." Large and liberal views these for a self-educated farmer.

Friend Joseph, in common with other mortals, has encountered many trials and afflictions. But it is an excellent foundation for a tranquil old age to love labor so much that work is recreation; to take friendly interest in the birds and all God's little creatures; to be temperate in all things, and habitually frugal, not from love of accumulation, but for the sake of imparting freely to the unfortunate; to find an ever-pleasant resource in the perusal of good books; and to have a conscience void of offense toward God and man. Time has silvered Joseph's hair, and the aches and pains of years have plowed furrows in his face. But he thinks more of his blessings than of his troubles, and uses what strength he has for the benefit of others. He gathers his grandchildren round him, and writes for them little stories or verses, which always contain some lessons of justice or kindness. On his sixty-seventh birth-day he gave a pic-nic party to all the girls and boys for a mile round. Some of them had flaxen hair, and some had black; some had white faces, and some had brown; for this pic-nic was one of his practical sermons on the brotherhood of the human race. He wrote simple verses for the occasion, freighted with hints of profitable truths. The tables were spread in his woods, and abundantly supplied with bread-and-butter, cakes, melons and apples. Large crates were fastened to the trees with strong ropes, so that the little ones could swing safely at their ease; and there were plenty of hoops and balls. It was a merry time, and Friend Joseph was as happy as any of the young folks. In spirit he was like unto a little child; and "of such are the kingdom of heaven."—*Independent.*

THE VOICELESS.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

WE count the broken lyres that rest
Where the sweet wailing singers slumber,
But o'er their silent sister's breast,
The wild flowers who will stoop to number?
A few may touch the magic string,
And noisy fame is proud to win them!
Alas for those who never sing,
But die with all their music in them!

Nay, grieve not for the dead alone,
Whose song has told their heart's sad story,
Weep for the Voiceless who have known,
The cross without the crown of glory!
Not where Leucadian breezes sweep
O'er Sappho's memory-haunted pillow;
But where the glistening night-dews weep
O'er nameless sorrow's church-yard pillow.

O! hearts that break and give no sign,
Save whitening lip and fading tresses,
Till death pours out his cordial wine,
Slow dropped from misery's crushing presses,
If singing breath or echoing cord
To every hidden pang were given,
What endless melodies were poured,
As sad as earth, as sweet as heaven!

THE following genuine expression of opinion on the real value of the liquor-pest formed part of a leading article in the *Telegraph* a few weeks ago:—"We are the friends of the working classes, not their parasites; and we cannot palter with the fact that their tendency to fuddle their brains away with the poisoned drams of the gin-shop is the main evil which keeps them from their rights in the State, and which dooms them to live on in cholera slums, while their order is left behind in the march of progress by all the industrial races of the continent."

THE RIVER PATH.

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

No bird-song floated down the hill,
The tangled bank below was still.

No rustle from the birchen stem,
No ripple from the water's hem.

The dusk of twilight round us grew,
We felt the falling of the dew;

For from us, e'er the day was done,
The wooded hills shut out the sun.

But on the river's farthest side
We saw the hill-tops glorified—

A tender glow, exceeding fair,
A dream of day without its glare.

With us the damp, the chill, the gloom,
With them the sunset's rosy bloom;

While dark through willowy vistas seen
The river rolled in shade between.

From out the darkness where we trod,
We gazed upon those hills of God,

Whose light seemed not of moon or sun,
We spake not, but our thought was one.

We paused, as if from that bright shore
Beckoned our dear ones gone before;

And stayed our beating hearts to hear
The voices lost to mortal ear!

Sudden our pathway turned from night,
The hills swung open to the light;

Thro' their green gates the sunshine showed,
A long, slant splendor downward flowed,

Down glade and glen and bank it rolled,
It bridged the shaded stream with gold;

And, borne on piers of mist, allied
The shadowy with the sunlit side!

"So," prayed we, "when our feet draw near
The river dark, with mortal fear,

And the night cometh chill with dew,
O Father! let thy light shine through!"

So let the hills of doubt divide,
So bridge with faith the sunless tide!

So let the eyes that fall on earth
On thy eternal hills look forth;

And in thy beckoning angels know
The dear ones whom we loved below!

JUST at the close of the cholera epidemic in Paris, an interesting experiment was tried by Dr. Lorain, one of the physicians of the Hospital St. Antoine, in the Faubourg St. Antoine. As is well known to the profession, the blood in cholera becomes thick; or, to speak more correctly, loses its watery particles, and does not circulate in the capillary system. Under this state of things the patient grows blue and cold and falls rapidly into collapse. Dr. Lorain thought that when a patient was found in this fatal condition, it would be a good thing to inject water into his veins so as to thin the blood again and enable it to circulate to all parts of the body. He first tried the experiment on animals, and found it did not kill them. He then took the first collapsed case which came into the hospital, which happened to be a young man with no other bodily ailment than the disease in question. When he was cold, insensible and cadaveric—in a word, within an hour or two of his death—Dr. Lorain called his hospital colleagues together, told them what he wanted to do, and asked them their opinion as to the possibility of curing the man by other remedies. With one accord they declared the patient beyond relief, and that the Doctor's conscience might be at ease in the trial of the experiment he proposed. He then, with the usual precautions against the intromission of air, injected into the veins at the fold of the arm about twelve ounces of water at a temperature of 104° Fahrenheit. The man soon grew warmer, his pulse became perceptible, he showed unmistakable signs of returning life, and, in fact, sixteen hours after the operation, in the morning, he sat up in bed and asked for a drink. He went on improving, passed through the phases of an ordinary convalescence from cholera, and got well!

THE FIRST SNOW FALL.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

THE snow had begun in the gloaming,
And busily all the night
Had been heaping field and highway
With a silence deep and white.

Every pine, and fir, and hemlock
Wore ermine too dear for an earl,
And the poorest twig on the elm-tree
Was fringed inch deep with pearl.

From sheds new roofed with Carara,
Came Chanticleer's muffled crow,
The stiff rails were softened to swan's-down—
And still fluttered down the snow.

I stood and watched by the window
The noiseless work of the sky
And the sudden flurries of snow-birds,
Like brown leaves whirling by.

I thought of a mound in sweet Auburn,
Where a little headstone stood—
How the flakes were folding it gently,
As did robins the babes in the wood.

Up spoke our own little Mabel,
Saying, "Father, who makes it snow?"
And I told her of the good All-father
Who cares for us all below.

Again I looked at the snow fall
And thought of the leaden sky
That arched o'er our first great sorrow
When the mound was heaped so high.

I remembered the gradual patience
That fell from that cloud-like snow,
Flake by flake, healing and hiding
The scar of that deep-stabbed woe.

And again to the child I whispered,
"The snow that husheth all,
Darling, the Merciful Father
Alone can make it fall."

Then, with eyes that saw not, I kissed her,
And she kissing back, could not know
That my kiss was given her sister
Folded close under deepening snow.

THE NEW YORK GOLD ROOM.—Some thirty men do the business of putting gold up or down in the gold room in New York. When they become unusually vociferous, yelling at the top of their lungs this figure or that in their offerings, the word goes out "market excited." Millions change hands in that noisy gold room daily,—prices are affected throughout the country by these operators—and yet to the uninitiated visitor the scene appears more like "bedlam broke loose" than the important transactions of business men.

A FOSSIL.—Mr. Elliott, of the Montana *Post*, is the fortunate possessor of a remarkable fossil, which was accidentally discovered by some miners in Bivin's Gulch, Montana, and for which Mr. Elliott has already refused one thousand dollars. It is a molar tooth taken from a fragment of jawbone five feet in length, and weighing fifty-seven pounds. The tooth itself weighs three pounds, and is described as "of curious configuration, not unlike a cluster of four beavers' claws overlying each other." It is believed in Denver city to be the largest fossil of the kind yet discovered.

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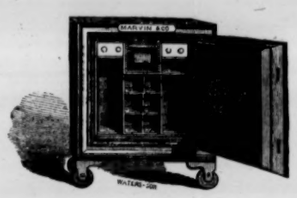

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From the New York Daily Tribune, Wednesday, Oct. 28, 1864.

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